

# THE AMERICAN TEACHER

247

*March, 1940*

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

## **The Teachers Union in Action**

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- Detroit Edits Labor Paper on Schools
- Kenosha Labor Reduces Salary Cuts
- N. Y. C. Wins Credit for WPA Teaching
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# Inside the Cover

LEE GEYER, FORMER PRESIDENT of AFT Local 430 and now Congressman from Los Angeles, Calif., has introduced a bill (H.R. 7534) into Congress which would make the poll tax illegal in elections in which federal representatives are to be chosen. Speaking before the House Judiciary subcommittee, Mayor Maury Maverick declared that, "For every additional Negro who would be enfranchised by the repeal of poll taxes, there would be eight white men." He also pointed out that for the nation as a whole an average of 67 per cent of the qualified voters participate in national elections. For the southern states where poll taxes prevail, only 31 per cent vote in Florida, 27 per cent in Texas, 16.2 per cent in Georgia, 14.5 per cent in Mississippi, and only 10 per cent of the qualified voters in South Carolina vote.

Martin Dies of Texas was elected by 12,000 voters in a district that has approximately 361,000 people and Eugene Cox of Georgia received less than 6,000 votes. Both the AFL and the CIO are supporting the Geyer Bill.

★  
PROFESSOR HUDSON B. HASTINGS, Yale economist, is worried because he thinks that organized labor's demand for standardized high wage scales will lead to a lower standard of living for everyone. In Trenton, N. J., "high wages" won a real victory when a state law providing that women and girls may not work more than a 10-hour day and a 54-hour six-day week was held constitutional by the state supreme court. The case involved a woman department store worker who had been forced to work a seven-day week.

★  
IF IT'S GAMES YOUR STUDENTS want to play, have them try this one called "Higher Wages and Shorter Hours." The game can be played by two to six persons. It consists of a seven-colored board, a number of pegs labeled "labor spies," a small spinning arrow to determine the precedence of the plays, and six key pegs, three for those taking the workers' side and three for those taking the employer's side.

The wooden pegs are moved from the front entrance of the plant around the runway to the main office, according to directions on cards, blue and white for the workmen, orange and red for the employer, which are turned up one at a time. Each move earns a certain number of points.

Directions on the workmen's cards follow the tested theories of organization used by practical labor unions. Three points, for instance, are gained by the workman-player drawing the card that advises him to "realize workers should have decent places to change clothes; that company does not lose money on cafeteria." Four points fall to the workman-player who draws the card saying: "Legislation forbids employer bringing strikebreakers across state lines."

On the employer's side of the game one point is gained if the card saying: "Put on radio programs to influence public opinion" is drawn. Seven moves ahead are given the employer-player drawing the card that advises him to "subscribe money to campaign funds of friendly politicians."

These moves and counter-moves, familiar to each party in labor disputes, are based on actual study of reports of the NLRB and of the testimony given before the LaFollette civil liberties committee. The game was invented by William Stafford, an active member of the Chemical Workers Federal Union. Orders for the game at \$1.00 per set may be sent to Stafford, Box 144, East St. Louis, Ill.

Another unionist, Robert Evans of Chicago is manufacturing a red glass reflector for automobiles which says, "Demand union labels and buttons!" Around the steel plate on which it is mounted is another slogan, "Make our state 100 per cent union."

★  
TWO PUBLICATIONS ISSUED BY Survey Associates will be of interest to AFT members: the February issue of *Survey Graphic* (40c) is devoted to the subject of Housing. By using the ad on the back page of the February issue of the *AMERICAN TEACHER* you can get three issues for \$1.00. The *Survey Mid-monthly* of February carries a complete report on the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy. Please mention our journal if you order these.

★  
THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT must enter the fields of production as well as extend its activities in distribution, Wallace Campbell, assistant secretary of the Cooperative League of the United States told one hundred students and cooperative leaders at a New York conference. Campbell also pointed out that the cooperative movement must

enter into the establishment of a cooperative financial institution, and also the extension of cooperatives into rural areas.

★  
DESPITE A 54-DAY STRIKE OF ITS 55,000 workers, the Chrysler Corp. doubled its net profits in 1939. The annual report issued by President K. T. Keller showed that the firm's net profit for 1939 was \$36,879,829 as compared with \$18,798,294 in 1938.

★  
"TIME MARCHES ON" AS DOES the organized labor movement with the announcement that the Eastern edition of *Time* magazine will be printed in a union shop. However, the boycott is being continued until the western edition is printed in a union shop. If you want to know, *Newsweek* is printed in a union shop. So is the *United States News*. And for those of literary tastes, the Book and Magazine Guild (CIO) just signed a contract with the *Saturday Review of Literature*.

*Labor and Education in 1939*, a supplement to *Labor and Education*, has been published by the Permanent Committee on Education of the AFL. These are available through the national office of the AFT, 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, at the rate of 10 cents a copy, or 5 cents a copy in lots of ten or more. It contains the report of the AFL executive council to the 1939 convention, the report of the Permanent Committee on Education to the same convention, and speeches made by President Counts, Spencer Miller, Jr., and Dean William F. Russell, Teachers College, Columbia, at the Cincinnati meetings.

CONNECTICUT LABOR INSPECTORS bagged big game in an intensive drive on state labor law violators. They arrested C. C. Boydston, treasurer of the Columbia Recording Corporation (phonograph records) on 144 charges of working women overtime and on Sundays. It was charged that some women worked 92 hours a week. Office girls told of working until they fainted on the job.

The warrant charges the company with 100 instances of working women over nine hours a day, 20 counts of working women more than 48 hours a week, 20 counts of working women after 10 P.M. and four counts of working women on Sundays.  
—G. T. G.

MARCH, 1940

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GEORGE T. GUERNSEY, Editor

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## State Labor Fights for Schools

Recent actions of state federations of labor speak well for those who have maintained that labor is interested in protecting the public schools. At the annual convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, resolutions were passed favoring sound tenure laws and urging labor bodies to make every effort to prevent unjust dismissals of teachers. Other measures advocated were: (1) prospective teachers should be given advantage of a thorough and objective treatment of the labor movement in America in the course of their training; (2) a program of action to place more labor representatives on school boards; (3) active interest in academic, as well as vocational, education and closer contact with teachers in order to promote knowledge and understanding of labor and labor organizations; and (4) opposition to the establishment and continuance of compulsory military training in publicly supported educational institutions.

In Illinois the State Federation of Labor warned against the growing school curtailment drive and urged the Executive Board to keep watch on this tendency and to recommend "appropriate action calculated to prevent such curtailment."

In Wisconsin the State Federation issued a special bulletin urging its membership to vote "no" on the repeal of the Wisconsin tenure law. In commenting the bulletin said: "The teachers' tenure law throughout the state is rather weak, yet it is better than no law at all."

# THE AMERICAN TEACHER

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AFFILIATED WITH THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

At Battle Creek, Michigan, the State Federation adopted the following resolutions concerning education: (1) pledging support for strengthened tenure law; (2) urging restoration of not less than original appropriation of \$350,000 for Teachers' Retirement Fund; (3) urging adoption of State Aid program that would take into account factors such as: teachers' salaries, class size, class load, length of school term and uniform tax assessment practices; (4) supporting federal aid; (5) opposing discrimination against women teachers because of sex or marital status; (6) supporting extension of franchise in school elections; and (7) mandatory use of school buildings for civil and educational purposes.

A resolution calling for Michigan Federation of Labor support for a program for elimination of the fifteen-mill property tax limitation amendment was introduced by the Pontiac Central Labor Body and received unanimous support of the delegates.

## Children in a Democracy

How to give the children of the United States an equal chance for health and education during these next ten years was the concern of the 500 delegates to the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, January 18-20, the fourth national children's conference to be held during the past thirty years.

Representing a wide cross-section of organizations and individuals the Conference was confronted with the fact that far too many children are in families who are on the bottom rung of the wage ladder. Many educators have come to realize that the health and well-being of children is interwoven with the economic security and well-being of the family, and that the welfare of the family—its ability to survive—is built upon the earning capacity of its wage earners. Wage earning and farm families constitute nearly 63 per cent of all our families in America. The income figures so well assembled throughout the eleven topical reports at the Conference dramatized strikingly the discrepancy between income received and what



is necessary for even a minimum standard of living. In 1933-36 one-half of the 29,000,000 families in our country had annual incomes of less than \$1,200, and more than one million families received less than \$250 a year in money. These amounts include relief payments of all kinds. More than a quarter of all the Nation's families have yearly incomes under \$750; 125,000 families of interstate migrants have yearly earnings of from \$400 to \$500. Too large a proportion of our low income families are almost wholly dependent upon relief for their livelihood, so that the providing of any kind of a wage becomes the most imperative problem. Only to the extent that we can raise wage levels in families above this relief group can we hope to pull up the whole economy to a level which permits the children to have a "break." Concentration on providing needed services for these groups is certainly our responsibility, but providing work and adequate wages for that work is of even greater importance. Families in these low income groups can offer their children absolutely nothing.

It is encouraging to note that the Conference realized that although great strides have been made in the last few years toward reducing child labor, it is still important to pass the Child Labor Amendment. The Conference voted for the immediate ratification of the Child Labor Amendment.

Of interest to teachers is the fact that delegates to the Conference pointed out that one-third of the unemployed workers in the United States today are young people between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four. Unemployment of youth in this group is higher than that in any other group of our unemployed population. The continuing load of unemployed workers in this age group is one of the real factors making for insecurity now and in the future.

A National Citizens Committee and a Federal Inter-Agency Committee were appointed to enlist the co-operation of national organizations in furthering the objectives of the Conference.

## ***AFT Contributes to Yearbook***

Eight of the thirteen authors of the recently published yearbook of the John Dewey Society are members of the American Federation of Teachers. The yearbook, the fourth issued by the Society, is entitled *Teachers for Democracy*. The chairman of the yearbook committee, Dr. George E. Axtelle, is Vice-President (College Section) of the AFT. The other union authors are Walter Anderson, Frank Baker, Neal Billings, Whit Brogan, John J. DeBoer, E. T. McSwain, and William W. Wattenberg, co-editor of the volume.

In a statement on teachers' organizations, Dr. Frank E. Baker, who is president of the Milwaukee State Teachers College, makes the following comment:

It is the majority opinion of the membership of the committee preparing this yearbook that connection with purely professional organizations is not enough. Even if all the teachers of America were united in a

single professional organization, they would not have the power to preserve their spiritual freedom in the crisis that has already destroyed several European democracies and that may threaten ours at any time. They must be able to tap wider streams of democratic power. They must be affiliated with the greatest reservoir of potential democracy in America, productive labor.

The teacher earns his living by his labor. His interests, his ideals, his hopes, are the same as those of the forty-five million other productive laborers of America, all of whom earn their living primarily by their work and only slightly by rent and interest.

Roma Gans, Teachers College, Columbia, is preparing a review of the yearbook for the April issue of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*.

## ***Buffalo Gets AFT Convention***

The National Convention of the American Federation of Teachers will be held on August 19-23 at the Hotel Buffalo in Buffalo, New York. The following Convention Committee has been appointed by the Executive Council: Robenia Anthony, chairman, Ray E. Abercrombie, C. J. Hendley, Arthur Elder, Irvin Kuenzli and George S. Counts. At a recent meeting, the Committee adopted as the theme for the Convention, "The School: Its Responsibility in the World of Today." The panels suggested were: a discussion of educational achievements and educational weaknesses; a discussion of the relationships between school and society; and, finally, an analysis of forces impeding educational progress with a discussion of the effects of retrenchment on education and a thorough analysis of propaganda against the schools. All suggestions for the Convention program should be forwarded to Robenia Anthony, 312 Union Street, Springfield, Mass.

## ***The National Budget, 1940-41***

Now going through Congress is the national budget for 1940-41 which calls for a total reduction of \$350,000,000 in appropriations directly or indirectly affecting education. The cuts in the budget will be felt by almost all federal agencies engaged in education or in the promotion of education. Sharp curtailments are levied against the National Youth Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, and outlays for vocational education. Absent from the budget is any appropriation for PWA construction projects; during the 1939-40 fiscal year, school and library construction and repairs to the extent of \$140,000,000 were financed by the federal government. Another major slash for educational activities is the reduction of \$400,000,000 in WPA, which spends approximately 30 per cent on projects which may be classified as either directly or indirectly educational.

In its analysis of the President's budget, the *Edpress News Letter*, publication of the Educational Press Association of America, states: "This is undoubtedly the biggest single reduction in America's educational history."

The budget has not yet been enacted by Congress, which may increase the proposed expenditures.



# The President's Page

## How Can We Achieve Unity?

During the past five months I have visited approximately sixty locals of the American Federation of Teachers. These locals enroll the great majority of our members and embrace the most populous parts of the country, reaching from Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Washington in the East to St. Louis, Galesburg, St. Paul and Minneapolis in the West; and from Savannah, Augusta, Atlanta and Chattanooga in the South to Chicago, Flint, Detroit and Lowell in the North. In the light of this experience I wish to direct the attention of the readers of the *AMERICAN TEACHER* to a basic feature of the Federation which must impress itself upon the most superficial observer and which has large consequences for our policy.

The locals of the American Federation of Teachers represent an enormous diversity of economic, political and religious affiliation and outlook. In economics the locals' membership majority ranges from firm supporters of capitalistic institutions and the profits system to advocates of profound changes in the economy in the direction of socialization and general planning; in politics, from moderately progressive Republicans and New Deal Democrats to adherents of the various parties of the Left. From the standpoint of religious connections and beliefs the Union reflects the differences of the American people. Many of the locals are preponderantly Protestant, some are Catholic and some are Jewish, while most of them include members from every faith and from no faith at all. In some locals visited the meeting was opened by the members standing and repeating the Lord's Prayer in unison, while in others, I am convinced, the membership would experience great difficulty in recalling the words of the first sentence of this ancient petition. In addition we have locals for Negroes and whites, locals in metropolitan, urban, suburban, small-town and rural communities, and locals north, south, east and west.

On what basis can such diversity achieve unity? Some might say that the present situation is intolerable, that some self-chosen minority, or even majority, should proceed to drive all dissident groups out of the Federation and impose its special brand of economic, political or theological orthodoxy upon the Union. Others might see a way out of the difficulty in the suggestion that every individual, on entering the Union, sever all connections with the world of affairs, drop his political affiliations and activities, and devote himself single-mindedly to the narrower problems of trade-unionism. For neither of these proposals, fortunately, do I find any appreciable support in the ranks of the Federation. The first, if acted upon, would destroy the organization; the second would

unfit our members to teach in a democracy. We must expect therefore that the Federation will continue to show the differences now existing and that our members as individuals will continue to participate actively, according to their own lights and convictions, in the political and cultural life of community, state and nation.

In spite of the great diversity of outlook and affiliation, however, there is a broad and solid basis for the work and growth of our Union. While it is unquestionably possible, as experience has shown, to divide us into a dozen or more mutually suspicious and even bitterly warring factions by injecting into our deliberations and activities in a partisan manner various issues which are agitating the minds of the American people today, it is also possible, I am sure, to bring us together in the defense of three things in which we all believe and to which we can devote all the resources at our command.

First, we are all committed to the defense of the integrity of teaching. We believe that in a democracy teaching is a noble calling, appropriately attracting into its ranks the finest spirits of each generation. In achieving such a status we believe that teachers should enjoy security of tenure, a just share of the national income, protection against the disabilities of sickness and age, opportunity to participate in the formulation of educational policy, freedom to take full and active part in the life of the time, and conditions of life and work generally which will encourage their continuous growth both as persons and as professional workers entrusted with the responsible task of rearing children and youth in the ways and outlooks of democracy. We believe, moreover, that our struggle for these things has only begun. And, in view of the uncertainties of the epoch and the general heightening of social tensions, this task alone would be a heavy one for the Federation to assume.

Second, we are all committed to the defense of public education. We believe that the public school is the corner stone of our democracy. We believe that this institution serves to equalize opportunities among men, to increase the moral and intellectual stature of each generation, to raise the productive level of the economy, and to improve the competence, understanding, and moral quality of the citizen. We believe that a free school, conducted by a free teacher, is the surest guarantee of the achievement and perdurance of a free society. We believe not only that all gains of the past should be maintained but also that the present program should be extended and enriched and that all existing educational inequalities should and must be erased. We believe further that we have only begun to develop an appropriate philosophy and program for the public school in the current age of profound social

transition. And in view of the continuing economic crisis, the increasing pressure on the public budget, and the growing attack of conservative and reactionary interests upon public education, this task alone would also be a heavy one for the Federation to assume.

Third, we are all committed to the defense of democracy. We believe that democracy as a form of government, as a way of life, and as a social faith is man's greatest political and moral achievement. We believe in the grand conceptions of human liberty, equality and brotherhood expressed in the Declaration of Independence, the Federal Constitution, and the great state papers of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and other leaders and spokesmen of American democracy. In particular we believe that the earth and its resources, the cultural heritage and its riches should be the possession of us all and that ordinary men and women—farmers, mechanics, housewives, and even

teachers—can and should rule themselves. We believe without qualification or reservation in the Bill of Rights and regard this great constitutional provision as an indispensable support of our democracy. We believe further that, with the rise of industrial civilization, the right to work and the right of laboring people to organize should be added to the great charter bequeathed to us from the Eighteenth Century. As members of the trade-union movement we also believe in the unity and close co-operation of labor and all popular forces. And, in view of the growing fears and anxieties among the American people, the widespread attack on democracy throughout the world, and the ever-present threat of war, this task alone would also be a heavy one for the Federation to assume.

*In the defense of these three things—integrity of teaching, public education, and democracy—we can find unity.*

GEORGE S. COUNTS

# Creed for A School Board Member

*Edgar Mendenhall*

I. I BELIEVE, as did the "Founding Fathers," in these principles:

*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just rights from the consent of the governed.*

Declaration of Independence

*We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.*

Preamble of the Constitution

I believe that the objectives enunciated in these principles have not been attained and that the public schools in every phase of their administration should, with other organizations and institutions, set as their goal the attainment of these objectives.

II. I believe in the public schools of America. I believe that as the children of our country are properly and adequately educated, their own well-being, their fullness of life, the fullness of life for adults and the perpetuity of the entire country will be assured. The greatest resources of America are not in its broad rich fields, its minerals, nor in its industrial and commercial centers. Its greatest resources are the sort of human beings within its confines. I believe that the public school, when rightly administered, offers the best opportunity for "tapping"

these "greatest resources" and developing them.

III. I believe that only through general public education of the right type within the reach of every child within my community, and in every community of the nation, will our country maintain its place economically, socially and culturally among the nations of the world. In this day of intercommunication and interdependence, we are knit, as it were by threads, as one people. No wall can be built around ignorance and neglect. We cannot escape the fact that "We are members one of another."

IV. I believe it my duty with all the intelligence, energy and courage I have to oppose vigorously any selfish interests of individuals or groups, political, religious or economic, that seek to throttle or dominate the public schools, to profit thereby, or promote their own "isms," or to increase the power and influence of any special groups or vested interests. The guiding principle for my actions as a board member shall be "Loyalty to Humanity," not loyalty to a particular group.

V. I believe I have my limitations as a school board member. I believe that my philosophy of life—that which largely determines what I think and do—has been so determined by my contacts with people, organizations and institutions from childhood until now. Because of this fact, I believe I should take into account such limitations lest they prejudice too much my actions as a school board member. Therefore, I believe I should listen considerably to suggestions from others concerning school policies, especially from those trained in the art of teaching and the



administration of schools. Nevertheless, I reserve the right after such consideration to act in accordance with my best judgment.

VI. I believe that no selfish or personal reasons should determine my actions as a school board member. I shall therefore not approve a teacher, any member of the school staff, any school purchase or contract, because of party politics, religious connections, kinship, friendship or personal profit. As a school board member, I shall be guided in my duties by what I believe to be best for all the children of my community.

VII. I believe in progress and in intelligently directed change. I believe that change is inevitable. It is a fact of existence. It must come in the affairs of men, in their relations with each other and in their relations with a changing universe. So far as possible, I believe that our schools should keep pace with and help direct in an orderly manner this change for human good, with all the intelligence and information they can command. This necessitates the changing and modification of textbooks, ample and growing libraries, much supplementary current reading material, changing courses of study, methods of teaching, administrative procedures, equipment and buildings. There may be need for revisions of creeds and philosophies. This does not imply that the past has little value for present-day life. It does mean that much asserted value of the past must be constantly scrutinized, and, as our best intelligence directs, the good retained and the bad and useless discarded. It means the constant search for truth and its spread in every field of human life.

VIII. I believe in freedom of teaching and freedom of discussion, that controversial questions of every character have some place in the schoolroom. It is my belief that no person or group has the absolute possession of truth in any field, that practically all questions are measurably controversial, truth being approximated only by a free interchange of thought. I believe that freedom of teaching and discussion should be of such a character that no set doctrine, religious, political or economic, should be imposed upon those who are taught, that minds should be constantly stimulated to seek facts and truths and weigh their bearing upon their affairs and the affairs of men. I believe that only thus can the growing generation be prepared to meet well life's problems, that only thus can good citizens in a democracy be made. Dogmatism is dangerous to democracy.

IX. I believe with the English philosopher, Bertrand Russell, that teachers too often and perhaps unwittingly become "jailors of the mind," instead of being what they should be, "liberators of the mind." They become thus because of too dictatorial methods in the classroom, a lack of sympathetic understanding of each child's personality, or it may be because of some dictatorial administrators or school boards. I believe that pressure groups, "pseudo-patriots," and biased writers of textbooks must share the responsibility of "jailing" the minds of boys and girls. Timid and cautious teachers fear



losing their jobs. Emotionalists, dogmatists and distorted information cramp and warp the minds of both teachers and pupils. School board members have an important part to play in aiding the liberation of the minds of the boys and girls of their communities.

X. I believe that too many school board members feel that the taxpayers support the schools. They fail to consider that it is just as near the truth to say, "The schools support the taxpayers." I believe that taxpayers and schools are mutually interdependent. Neither could exist without the other. Without the producers of material wealth—the owners of property, manufacturers, business concerns—there could be no schools. Without the education which schools provide, property rights, manufacturers and business would likely vanish. Such a point of view would do much to balance incomes more fairly, would lend more dignity to the profession of teaching and contribute much to its efficiency.

XI. I believe that the need for education for every individual is present throughout life. This need begins at birth and only ends at death. Failure to meet this need is a public disservice. The public, represented by the school board members, should realize this fact and should utilize their schools to the full for the continuous education of all the people of the community, irrespective of age. Nursery schools, schools for adults, public forums should be an integral part of public education.

XII. I believe there exists in every community other educational agencies besides the school—the home, the church, civic clubs, recreational centers, business and labor groups. I believe that proper integration of the educational efforts of all these agencies and groups is essential for clarification and effectiveness of ideals and the educational processes desirable in a democratic society. To further such integration, I believe so far as possible, the board of education should be made up of representatives from several groups—professional, labor, business, industrial—which constitute the community. I believe the school board should encourage their school



staff to plan their educational programs in terms not only of the special needs of individuals and groups, but also in terms of fused interests and needs. Such educational programs should be checked on the part of the staff by direct contacts with the working conditions and life of the community. In planning such programs, national and world needs and interests should be taken into account.

XIII. I believe that there are certain fundamental principles of action which will aid a serious-minded school board member better to perform his duties, but that no definite way can be pointed out as to just what to do in a given situation. In other words, there cannot be made a "road map" or a "blue-print" to guide a school board member in every situation. How well he will be able to meet and solve the problems he faces must depend upon his own insight, his willingness to read widely and inform himself and upon his ability to predict the ultimate results of what he does. High ideals, intelligence and courage are essentials for his task.

XIV. I believe that every school board member should feel deeply the responsibility which is his because he is a school board member. He should think through much for himself just what education means and its bearing upon his community and the life of the nation. Perhaps he should feel that education constantly is in "a race with catastrophe." Whether he knows it or not, he is a participant in the fate of the country.

XV. I believe in the most thorough democratization of the schools possible. I believe this because I feel that such democratization in action in our schools is essential training for the preservation and furtherance of the democratic principles in which Americans believe. I believe that such democratization should be so worked out as to enable every participant in the school system—pupils, parents, teachers, as well as the superintendent and school board—to contribute his ability in attaining the true objective of education in a democracy—a *higher level of living for all*. I therefore believe in democracy in the schoolroom, in teacher participation in school administration, in teachers organizations, and in every means which may be utilized in a community to render our schools more democratic.

XVI. Finally, I believe that the ideals set forth in this creed will be of worth only to those school board members who will think them through and will discuss with other board members and educators their meaning, and the methods of carrying out such ideals. If such a dream could be realized, I believe that public education and the civilization of our country would move constantly to higher levels.

William Allan Neilson has written, "Education Can't Be Better Than the Teachers." I believe it is as near the truth to say, "Education Can't Be Better Than the School Board Members and Administrators."

## Crises in Jacksonville and Toledo

*Irvin R. Kuenzli*

THE RECENT action of the Board of Education in Toledo, Ohio, in granting, through collective bargaining, the best possible salary schedule to teachers and other school employees is a wholesome demonstration of American democracy as contrasted with the action of the Board of Education in Jacksonville, Florida, which has persistently denied reinstatement to forty teachers who were arbitrarily dismissed without a statement of cause or charges. The situations existing in both these progressive American cities afford excellent exemplification of the struggle for adequate educational facilities for the children of the nation and the battle against dictatorship in the schools of the nation.

The mass dismissal of teachers in Jacksonville constitutes one of the most flagrant cases of violation of the basic principles of democracy in the history of American education. Hardly does it seem possible that, in the United States of America in the year 1939, some forty teachers, most of whom had long records of successful achievement, could be dismissed without any statement

whatever of the reasons for dismissal. Labor leaders who met to discuss the case, in connection with the Southern AFL Conference, at Atlanta, Georgia, on March 3, 1940, could hardly believe the story told by attorneys representing dismissed teachers in Jacksonville. It seemed that representatives of some foreign state had crossed the seas to tell of conditions existing under totalitarian dictatorship.

It was reported that the teachers of Jacksonville have secretly contributed considerable sums toward the support of the teachers who were dismissed, but that employed teachers were terrorized by rumors of reprisal if contributions were made to the sustenance fund. It was also reported that some teachers had sent funds to out of town friends and had them mailed back in order to avoid evidence of the contribution. All of this—in an institution which is training children for citizenship in a democracy! (All persons desiring to contribute to the support of the teachers may safely do so by mailing the funds to the national office of the American Federa-

tion of Teachers. Receipts will be sent in plain envelopes.) A number of locals in the South are making substantial contributions to the support of the teachers.

Organized labor is carrying out its traditional policy in defense of democracy in the schools by aggressively fighting the battle of the Jacksonville teachers. The 1939 convention of the American Federation of Labor, after listening to the story of the delegates from Jacksonville, considered the case of national importance to labor, and emphatically condemned the action of the Board of Education in Jacksonville.<sup>1</sup> The importance of the case is emphasized by the fact that only matters of national importance are brought before the AFL conventions and grievance cases are usually left to international unions for action.

William Green, president of the AFL, has sent a communication to affiliated labor bodies in Florida urging their fullest co-operation in securing the reinstatement of the teachers. The Florida Federation of Labor will consider the case at its annual convention at Daytona Beach beginning April 8. The local labor council of Jacksonville is devising a program of action and, though impoverished by recent demands on its treasury, is giving financial support to the teachers. The National Academic Freedom Committee of the AFT is giving full support to the local defense committee.

It is clearly recognized that, unless the board relents from its present adamant attitude, the campaign must be carried into the school board election in May, 1940. It is also clearly recognized that the forces responsible for the dismissal of the teachers will pour thousands of dollars into the campaign. It will be a significant battle of dollars against the principles of American democracy and the elementary rights of public school teachers. There is evidence that the citizens of Jacksonville are thoroughly aroused over the situation and that no highly financed campaign or flood of false rumors and propaganda can dissuade the public-spirited citizens from erasing the blot on the good name of the city. The city of Jacksonville has a unique opportunity to demonstrate to the whole nation and to the world that the principles of democracy still exist in the hearts of the American people.

As indicated above, the outcome of the crisis in the public schools of Toledo, Ohio, was a wholesome contrast to the deplorable situation in Jacksonville. After the failure of a necessary school levy had caused the closing of the schools, "taxpayers" groups and other pressure groups demanded that the schools be opened and the budget balanced by cutting salaries and operating on the meager income available. The public had been deceived by false and misleading propaganda into believing that no additional funds were necessary and that financial aid could be secured from the treasury of the state of Ohio through the Foundation Program. Under these conditions, even a substantial part of the labor vote was swung over to the idea that revenues could be secured from



sources other than a levy on real estate.

Once the levy had been defeated and the schools closed, the very groups which had opposed the levy began to appreciate the damaging effect on the city when the schools are closed. Real estate values were threatened because some of the semi-permanent population began to move to cities which could afford public schools. Retail business was affected and the credit of the teachers was threatened. The salaries of 2,000 employees were subtracted from business in Toledo. Hence, came a cry from these groups to open the schools at any cost, to balance the budget, to cut salaries. Specifically it was proposed that teachers' salaries be reduced from 88 per cent of their basic salary schedule to 80 per cent—thus increasing the salary cut from 12 per cent to 20 per cent. This cut was in addition to the time lost while the schools were closed. Strong pressure was brought upon the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools to place the salary reduction in effect for the remainder of the present school year and all of the next school year. A resolution had actually been presented to the Board to bring about the reduced schedule. The Teachers Union, backed by the Central Labor Council, swung into action and requested postponement of the vote on the matter until time should be afforded for further study.

On the evening of January 26, 1940, the Board held a conference with representatives of the teachers' organizations, the Toledo Federation of Labor, and the writer, representing the AFT and the Education Committee of the AFL. No action was taken at this meeting as the meeting was called only for discussion purposes. A meeting of the Board at which final action was to be taken was set up for January 29. Meanwhile Union officials conferred with officials of the Department of Education, Columbus, Ohio, and received an unofficial opinion that the Attorney-General would probably rule that it was illegal under the laws of Ohio to reduce salaries below the amount paid during the first three months of the school year. Armed with this important information, the Union

<sup>1</sup>See AMERICAN TEACHER, November (1939) Part II, Page 7.



requested a conference with the Board of Education previous to the regular meeting on January 29. The president of the Board agreed to a conference between the Board and representatives of the Central Labor Council and the International Union immediately preceding the School Board meeting.

Following this session the Board went into executive session, and upon emerging into open session a few moments later withdrew a previous motion to reduce salaries and voted to continue the present salaries for the remainder of the school year. The program adopted was essentially the one requested by the Central Labor Council of Toledo.

The Board of Education in Toledo is to be commended

highly: first, for its willingness to meet around the conference table with representatives of the teachers and other school employees and the Central Labor Council; second, for its willingness to listen to the arguments of workers who represent the great masses of the people, rather than the well-organized minority groups which would crush or curtail the public schools. The teachers of Toledo owe a debt of gratitude to the Central Labor Council, without the support of which victory would have been impossible in negotiating the wage scale with the Board of Education. Labor is now taking the lead in the next step which is necessary—that of securing the necessary revenue to make possible the maintenance of wage scales for the next school year.

# Teaching Reading Effectively

*Paul Witty and John DeBoer*

*The following article was first presented as an interview over station WCFL under the auspices of the Chicago Teachers Union. The participants were Dr. John DeBoer of the Chicago Teachers College and Dr. Paul Witty of Northwestern University.*

DEBOER: For some years there has been a growing interest among the teachers of the United States in the subject of teaching children how to read. In recent weeks the newspapers have published many letters from parents who are interested in their children's progress in reading. Many of these parents seem to think that children today do not read as well as children of a generation ago. Dr. Witty, you have studied hundreds of children over a period of many years with particular attention to their reading problems. Do you think that the schools are less efficient today in the teaching of reading than they were twenty years ago?

WITTY: I think there are several reasons for believing that the reading ability of children today is in general superior to that of children of a generation ago. The types of reading materials provided in the schools of twenty and twenty-five years ago were extremely formal and limited in range, form and content. Today a vast quantity of reading materials of many types and varieties is pouring from the presses, and children are called upon to read pamphlets and books on subjects which in earlier days were unknown in the schoolroom. Librarians report that the circulation of books has steadily increased over a period of many years, and the demand for reading matter has resulted in an unprecedented increase in the quantity of free and inexpensive but worthy publications.

An examination of the yearly best sellers from 1900 to the present reveals a steady improvement in the type of books which the general public has learned to enjoy. Judging by the place that reading now occupies in the life of our adult population, the schools have been successful in raising the general level of reading ability.

DEBOER: But if this is true, how do you account for the fact that so many parents feel that their children are less efficient readers than were those of years ago?

WITTY: The schools themselves are in part responsible for this belief, since they have become so acutely conscious of the importance of the reading problem. The more precise measuring instruments in use today have made teachers, parents and the children themselves aware of reading deficiencies which were unnoticed or unsuspected in the days when we were in school. When the school was unaware of the extent of reading disability among the children, it naturally did little or nothing about the problem. Today thousands of children are receiving aid in overcoming their reading difficulties as a result of our greater knowledge of the extent and the cause of reading retardation.

DEBOER: Are there other factors responsible for the common misunderstanding with respect to children's reading?

WITTY: Yes, I think it is often forgotten that the children of today are confronted with a much greater variety of reading materials than formerly, and they must therefore be armed with a greater diversity of reading skills and interests. We can no longer judge the reading ability of children on the basis of their performance on some routine, perfunctory reading test or exercise. More-



over, many parents judge children's reading ability by their oral rendition of the printed page. Today the schools are rightly stressing the ability to get meaning from the printed page in silent reading, because the average person devotes so much more time to silent than to oral reading. Yet, oral reading is a natural and much needed aid which should receive secondary although appropriate attention in a sound reading program.

DEBOER: Is it possible that the greatly increased school enrollments have intensified the reading problem?

WITTY: Most assuredly, the presence in schools of practically all the children of the community of school age has presented problems which did not exist in days when the school population was more select. And I might add that the general public usually knows little or nothing about those cases in which the school has been remarkably successful, but it often does discover those cases in which the school is less successful.

DEBOER: Dr. Witty, could you describe briefly a few of the most common causes for some children's slow progress in reading?

WITTY: There are so many alleged causes of poor reading that it is impossible to do more than suggest a few of the more important items. Among the frequently cited causes are: poor physical condition, limited mental ability and faulty eye movements. It has been found, however, that no single factor is a dependable indicator of the needs of poor readers. Many items at one time believed to be causes are now regarded as symptoms, or as correlates of poor reading. Hence, the majority of boys and girls who have difficulty in reading do not need the treatment of experts; nor do they require the service provided by elaborate machines, apparatus, or "drills." Their difficulties may be traced in most cases to improper habits and attitudes occasioned by lack of interest and to a dearth of appropriate reading materials. These conditions can be improved only by a systematic attempt to understand each child and to provide a series of new reading experiences which can be recognized as related to the child's own problems or needs. This implies also that the teacher will have a wide acquaintance with many types of printed matter, and that she will be well versed in current literature, for children's problems often result from recently created obstacles to adjustment and re-orientation.

It is apparent then that a new responsibility rests upon the teacher who must become a student of the growth and development of children; she must also develop a sensitivity to and an understanding of social conditions; and, she must become thoroughly familiar with children's literature—old and new. Finally, she must provide many books and periodicals to care adequately for children's varied interests and abilities.

DEBOER: It is clear that the teacher needs to know reading materials. But how can the teacher obtain the knowledge about books that she requires? Can teachers in typical schools obtain this information and provide the books that children need?

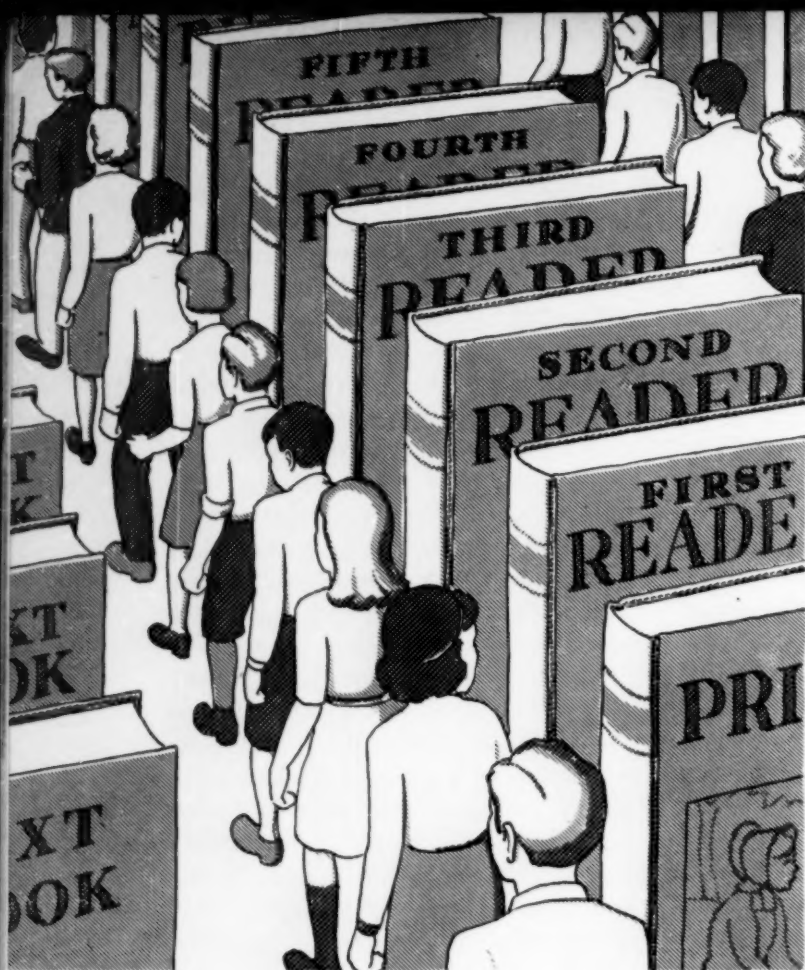
WITTY: Yes, many teachers, realizing that their primary problem in improving reading ability centers in securing abundant, easy, interesting and informative reading materials are making a determined effort to obtain appropriate printed matter. So successful are their efforts that it is a joy to go into a happy classroom in a modern elementary or secondary school. There one will find much free or cheap reading matter, attractively displayed or assembled in association with other materials which reflect the many expanding interests of youth. Among these materials one will be likely to discover a large number of attractively illustrated books whose cost is only ten or twenty-five cents per volume. This classroom will contain also a wealth of reading material which can be obtained at no cost beyond that spent for postage. In addition, the library is constantly being enriched in the modern classroom by new books and by appropriate selections contributed in many schools by a central co-operating library. Such an assembly of books, including attractive stories and valuable information on diverse topics, offers the possibility of providing children with varied reading experiences on different levels of difficulty. Lists of such materials have been prepared by the American Childhood Education Association, the American Library Association and other organizations. Similarly, the National Council of Teachers of English, The Progressive Education Association and many other agencies are experimenting with the selection or creation of literature which secondary school students find useful. It is of considerable significance that the American Library Association publishes in *The Booklist* a semimonthly evaluation of new books and of inexpensive and free materials. Literary sources are here presented as avenues for obtaining information concerning pressing personal and social problems, for exploring the world of letters, and for building worthy leisure habits.<sup>1</sup>

DEBOER: You have spoken of secondary school pupils. Do children in high school also have difficulties in reading?

WITTY: Yes, many studies have recently revealed an overwhelming amount of reading retardation in secondary schools. In fact, the variability in reading rate and comprehension within every class is really astonishing. In general, these studies show that approximately 15 to 25 per cent of secondary school pupils are greatly retarded in reading ability. From whatever school group we choose, research confirms the general observation that large numbers of secondary school pupils have not developed effective reading skills; as a result impossible reading demands are made upon children whose understanding, interests and general mental hygiene become increasingly impaired as they are forced to adapt themselves to learning more and more unintelligible materials.

DEBOER: Do you think anything can be done to improve the reading of these high school students, or is it too late to help a boy or girl in this matter by the time

<sup>1</sup>A list of these types of materials for the elementary and for the secondary school may be obtained free by writing to KERMIT EDV, Chicago Teachers Union, 509 S. Wabash, Chicago, Ill.



he enters high school?

WITTY: Fortunately a great deal can be done for these pupils. Systematic programs for the improvement of reading in the high school have been carried on in many cities throughout the United States. The method of coping with this problem is essentially the same in high school as in the elementary school. What is needed most is a sufficient variety and range of interesting books, pamphlets, and magazines to meet the needs of even the poorest reader. Boys and girls who have difficulty in reading become discouraged when their text books and other reading matter are too hard for them. Here again it becomes necessary to relate reading to other experiences of young people and to provide happy play and work which will promote a keen interest in and wholesome attitudes toward reading. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the reading problem involves a responsibility of all teachers, not merely the teacher of English. It calls for helpful guidance, sympathetic understanding and broad stimulation of interests in many areas. The high school teacher merely continues the work of the elementary school.

DEBOER: I should like to ask you some questions about the methods commonly used in the public schools for assisting poor readers. On other occasions I have heard you say that you think of education not merely as a concern for mastery of certain skills in reading or writing or arithmetic, but as the process for helping children and young people to grow in general competence as social beings and as well-rounded personalities. Does this concept of education have any bearing upon the problem of methods in reading instruction?

WITTY: Yes, it does. It has exercised a most important influence upon instruction in reading and several new emphases have developed from it. First, reading is now conceived as a continuous *functional* process, important in education only in so far as it contributes to the expanding understandings of children, their appreciations, wholesome satisfactions and adjustment. Second, there is increased awareness of the fact that growth in reading skill and in favorable reading attitudes depends fundamentally upon the provisions of diversified, interesting reading materials in which children may find information in keeping with their abilities and related to their varied interests and problems. And third, it has led teachers to view reading as one experience only in the total life activity of the individual; they insist that meaning and worth of reading depend upon its relationship to the total life pattern of the reader.

DEBOER: I think that many people are interested in the value of certain well-known procedures employed in the improvement of reading. For example, what do you think of the approach through "phonic analysis," that is, through the study of sounds of various combinations of letters and of other methods emphasizing mechanical skills in reading?

WITTY: Phonic training has persisted through the centuries. As late as 1935, it was recommended by makers of several basic texts in reading. Many sharp criticisms of these practices have appeared since 1920, and authors realizing the limitations of extreme phonetic methods have recommended a variety of modified approaches. At the present time, teachers are inclined to be confused by the conflicting points of view. Behind all the confusion is the specter of our language, a changing miscellany of phonetic and unphonetic words, colloquialisms and slang. American-English is essentially an unphonetic language. Despite the rather decisive investigations disproving the value of extreme approaches, advocates still maintain that phonetic training confers the ability to unlock new words and to pronounce and spell words correctly. In fact, several educators believe that extreme phonetic analysis is essential in the re-education of the poor reader.

This emphasis has had most unfortunate results. It has caused remedial reading to become highly formalized, concentrated largely upon the development of specific skills. Since we have seen that serious reading retardation is associated with numerous and complex forms of behavior, it is clear that such an approach neglects or diverts attention from many really significant factors associated with maladjustment. Another somewhat similar remedial approach is advanced frequently. It has been observed that children need a basic stock of sight words in order to read fluently; remedial efforts consequently have been directed upon the mastery of specific lists of words. Workers in the field of remedial reading have sometimes assumed that the stock of sight words should be the same for all children and have devised drills upon particular lists of words which are said to constitute "standards"



for various groups of poor readers. Such acquisitions could in no way promote development and progress in language as a means of improving and facilitating communication. For a set vocabulary violates the basic premise that word knowledge should be acquired because it grows out of a child's direct experience, serves his needs, extends his interests and thus promotes his sturdy growth. A vocabulary can not, if it fulfills these high purposes, be the same for all children. Slavish devotion to drills of these types blocks growth since it offers little that is really helpful in meeting the individual needs of the poor reader.

DEBOER: In recent years many of our schools have employed a method known as the normal method of introducing children to reading. As I understand this method, it aims at the recognition of meaning symbols on the printed page without the intervention of auditory, or sound images. Will you comment on the possible advantages or disadvantages of this plan?

WITTY: I shall be glad to do so, but first it will be necessary to say a few words about the development of language. The rapidity of this development in the young child is really remarkable. By the time the child is two years old he has employed two hundred different words. In a normally stimulating environment he then adds about six hundred words a year to his vocabulary until he enters school. At this time he has employed every form of symbol and every type of speech in using some twenty-five hundred different words. He has learned these words because they are demanded in predominantly social relationships: in obtaining food, putting on clothing, going to various places, and gaining other desired ends. These words are, moreover, a part of larger activities having immediate meanings and values; their acquisition has been logical and continuous in terms of developmental needs.

This development has been facilitated through oral communication. The child should continue to develop his vocabulary through this natural medium, and he should be permitted and encouraged to use oral reading to assist in his recognition of printed symbols. As proficiency in oral and silent reading increases, oral reading should gradually come to assume a role secondary to silent reading.

But it seems unnecessary, unnatural and psychologically indefensible to curtail abruptly or prohibit oral reading which for the young child is a wholesome, worthwhile and pleasant form of learning.

DEBOER: There is a common belief that a child of limited intelligence can never become an efficient reader, and conversely, that most poor readers are mentally inferior. What is the best recent evidence with respect to the role of intelligence in learning in general and reading in particular?

WITTY: It is generally conceded that the significance of mental ability has been overemphasized in connection with reading proficiency. In various studies of large num-

bers of poor readers in the elementary and high schools we find that about 90 per cent have I.Q.'s between 80 and 110, a range which includes the majority of school children. Most poor readers, it appears, are sufficiently bright to read satisfactorily if appropriate and attainable goals are provided and if there is sound motivation. There are, however, some remedial programs which overlook these facts. In one approach, the child's mental and reading ages on standardized tests are ascertained and compared. Satisfactory reading status is said to be displayed by the child whose mental age and reading age correspond closely. A reading age lower than a mental age is considered indicative of reading disability or need. This simple formula is alleged to be a scientific means of estimating the degree of reading retardation and the extent of reading proficiency to be attained through remedial endeavor.

The fallacies involved in these expectancies should be readily apparent. In the first place, the procedure is based upon the unestablished assumption that intelligence tests can be employed to predict reading attainment precisely. As a matter of fact, it has been found that a typical statistical measure of relationship between tests of intelligence and of reading is too low for prediction much better than chance. At best, standardized tests of intelligence as well as of reading are but crude instruments unsuited and ill-adapted for such purposes.

The more important criticism of the formula, however, is its neglect of the child as an adapting, changing organism in a changing world, whose reading should be so directed as to enable him to attain wholesome personality orientation, not simply the mastery of reading matter according to a formula.

DEBOER: All that you have said thus far suggests the





close relation between reading and the broader problems of learning. How would you characterize a school environment that is most favorable to progress in reading?

WITTY: Children and young people learn to read best when they have a strong purpose or motive in approaching reading matter. They should seek reading experiences because the printed page offers information they need or the pleasure they have come to find in this leisure pursuit. Such attitudes are usually the product of an environment which is stimulating and rich in suggestions for worthwhile, purposeful activities. In such an atmosphere, children are encouraged to plan their work together and to share the results of their reading or investigation with an interested group. A schoolroom characterized by domination, restraint, and hushed anxiety, with activities organized according to the set assignments of a rigid course of study is a schoolroom which deliberately produces reading casualties.

DEBOER: Much of the reading in some schools is done in textbooks used in connection with the various subjects of study. Does the work based on textbook study in any way affect the pupil's progress in reading?

WITTY: If teachers of the various school subjects would set as their major aim the development of strong and diversified reading interests in their respective fields, instead of the retention of certain blocks of subject matter, many of our reading problems would disappear. In some schools principals and teachers are replacing uniform, standard texts with collections of reading materials—pamphlets, newspapers, periodicals, and books—ranging from the simplest to the most advanced levels and deal-

ing with numerous aspects of the same problem. In so doing they are eliminating the sense of failure and frustration which a large percentage of children experience when they are compelled to read textbooks which are too difficult or which are unsuited to their needs. No textbook, however well-written, can possibly meet the needs of any large percentage of children in a typical schoolroom. DEBOER: In summary, then, the process of learning to read is complex and calls for a variety of approaches. Effective reading implies the expression of keen interests in a variety of fields, the cultivation of wholesome attitudes, and the enrichment of human relations in school and life. Thus reading is viewed as desirable when it forms a part of a wholesome design for living. When our schools become schools of living they will be adequately supplied with suitable reading material, and the majority of our reading problems will then be solved. There are many schools in which excellent work has already been accomplished along these lines. There are schools, particularly in some underprivileged areas where the needs are greatest, which are lacking in the essential provisions for reading progress. In some schools even the number of textbooks, inadequate as they are, is insufficient for minimum needs, and rich, colorful and varied reading experiences are unknown. Classes are so large that the necessary individual study of pupils is impossible. If the schools were to make a vigorous attack upon the problem of drastically reducing class size and of increasing the supply of suitable reading materials, they would greatly increase the effectiveness of their reading instruction.

## Resources and Education

*Paul Hanna and Harold Hand*

ALL THAT goes to make up the good life in a material sense as we know or desire it is derived from, and the possible abundance thereof is determined by, basic physical and biotic resources. This is true of houses, furniture, clothing, food, fuel, automobiles, airplanes, schools, churches, theatres, books, hospitals, surgical instruments, radios, telephones, factories, paved roads, power plants, electric lights, vacuum cleaners and so on *ad infinitum*. Deplete or destroy the basic biotic and physical resources out of which these objects are fashioned or derived and, regardless of the beauty, logic and persuasiveness of whatever the ideology, you in time have men without houses, furniture, clothing, food, fuel, automobiles, airplanes, schools, churches and so on. Nor could any society, given the depletion of these basic resources, secure either these raw resource materials or their de-

rivatives in manufactured products by foreign trade, for they would have nothing to exchange. And even *ersatz* products require similar basic source materials.

Why has such a seemingly obvious relationship been so commonly overlooked in this country? Probably because of the fact that the application of the world's most advanced technology to the richest natural resources to be found anywhere on earth has resulted in such a flood of economic goods that we have been able to see only the *results* of this unparalleled exploitation (and waste, be it noted) of natural resources. This has made us blind with reference to the ultimate *source* of, and the ultimate determinate of the measure of, our potential material well-being. Indeed, the very richness of our basic resources made them appear inexhaustible to our frontier-carving ancestors and we have quite unconsciously

inherited this outlook from them.

There is also at least one other major reason for our myopia. As Renner has observed:

Most Americans, including many educators, have attributed this (the fact that we in the United States possess the highest standard of living, use more luxury goods than all other nations put together, transact one-half of the world's business, etc.) to the profitableness of democracy and to the superiority of the "American way." They have assured us that all we have to do is to hold fast to the "American way," and we will continue to enjoy these things. . . . Iceland is a wonderful country with unusually able people living under a democracy better than our own. It can never be rich, populous, nor important; its resources are too slim. This is true for the same reason that if one has wood, iron, copper, gypsum, and cement materials he can build a house; but if one does not have these, he cannot. If one once had resources, but has used them up, in building a house, he cannot build another, nor can he sell products and buy the materials for one. If a people have resources they can build an opulent social order; if they waste their substance they *cannot maintain or replace* that social order.<sup>1</sup>

It is also more than likely that we have tended to overlook this obvious determined relationship between resources and human well-being because we have found it to be a distasteful thing to admit to consciousness. We have been too prone to view the forces operative in society as being wholly moral, to believe that our problems should be viewed almost wholly within the context of moral conduct, and that all problems could be solved if only the requisite great men to provide the proper leadership could be chosen—and this without any special consideration being given to the limitations inexorably imposed by the nature and extent of our basic resources or to the conditions under which the mass of our population may claim title to them or to their derivatives. To admit that, regardless of the quality of its leadership or the nature of its ideology, no nation could be a great power without coal and iron ran against the grain, psychologically speaking, for it admitted of a materialistic limitation and thus injected a consideration not of a pattern with our moralistic outlook. Parenthetically, nothing here written is in any way intended to deny the power of great leaders, of ideas, of ethics, etc.; rather, our concern has been only to assert that these can enable us to achieve in a material sense only within the limitations imposed by physical and biotic resources.

This brings us to a brief consideration of our resource situation. The picture revealed by the scientists who are variously studying our soil, forests, water, mineral, wildlife, population, etc., problems, while not black, is none too re-assuring in many of its aspects. As Renner has put it, we have been living "far beyond our geographical income; we have been eating into our principal." It is estimated that nearly a third of our topsoil has been lost through water and wind erosion, largely as a con-

sequence of the depleting of our forests (only about one-eighth of the original stand still remains), the destroying of the native grass cover, and the employing of faulty agricultural methods. This has also augmented the flood hazard to a very considerable extent. Further, our water resources are wasted to a serious degree, and our streams are grievously polluted. Our wildlife has been poisoned and wantonly slaughtered; many species are either threatened with extinction or are already represented only by museum specimens. Our grasslands have been overgrazed and many areas which should have been left in their natural state have been drained, irrigated or cleared and put under the plow. Witness the human misery in the dust bowl and slashed-over forest areas, for example. Irreplaceable minerals are wasted. There is a serious wastage of human and cultural resources. We have widespread unemployment, though the unmet needs of our population for goods and services (particularly the latter) are sufficiently great to require the employment of the full number of our total potential workers. We have poverty in the presence of a potential material abundance. A million children and youth are unable to attend school. A major fraction of the population is ill-housed, ill-clothed, ill-fed, and without access to adequate medical, dental or hospital care. Youth in staggering proportions are unable to secure employment, to establish a home, to rear a family. A large fraction of both children and adults are obliged to endure the frustrations associated with living on relief. These general observations but highlight the more important of the many serious trends toward the depletion, wasteful exploitation, or deterioration of our natural and human resources which recent research has brought to light. If these trends are not checked or reversed, they can eventually lead only to serious economic decline and consequent social ruin.

But they can be checked or reversed. We still have time to do so if we will at once realistically come to grips with the task. As Coyle has said:

Our country is a great social organization . . . which has to have its strategic material resources carefully conserved; a country that has to have its people regarded as the source of our future citizens who must be conserved, who must be brought to a state of health, who must be properly educated, and be given such opportunities that the genius which springs up spontaneously in all classes of our people will not be wasted. . . . With all our waste we have not destroyed the country yet. . . . We still have a generation in which either to turn the tide of history toward a permanent country or else to turn it toward that same development that occurred in Babylon, or in the Mayan civilization of Yucatan, that came, grew, flourished and were glorious and failed to conserve their soil, failed to conserve their natural resources, failed to conserve their people, and passed out of history. Which it is to be depends largely on our generation and on the generation which is immediately to succeed us.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>George T. Renner: "Education and the Conservation of Resources." *The Social Frontier*. 5:203-206. (April) 1939.

<sup>2</sup>David Cushman Coyle in the American Planning and Civic Association's *American Planning and Civic Annual*. 1937. pp. 9-10.



"To turn the tide of history toward a permanent country," that is the challenge. Most students of social strategy are convinced that the secret lies in establishing and maintaining a balance between all the factors—natural and human. If there exist one hundred and thirty millions of us in this land we can estimate roughly how much material goods—food, clothing, shelter, tools and utensils, and luxury goods we need. It is also possible to say approximately how much of the various services—medical, educational, recreational, etc.—we as a people need to assure a minimum good life for each. Knowing these needs in grand totals we can set a budget showing the amount of ore or coal or oil that needs to be extracted, the acreage of land that must be farmed, the acreage of forest that must be cut, the tonnage of clay that must be converted into brick or tile, or the quantity of falling water that must be harnessed to hydroelectric generators and the like. Further, knowing what the total reserve of exhaustible resources is and knowing the extent of replacement of inexhaustible resources we can say how much of the budget of needs can be filled without serious impairment of the earth's storehouse reserve. And still further, knowing the human reserve of labor, management, and creative vision, a design for the co-ordination of men, of technical equipment, of capital and of earth resources can be achieved. From this design would ensue a more balanced, a more equitable and smoothly functioning co-operative mechanism of production and distribution of the materials and services upon which a society depends for its existence—a democratically conceived and administered plan of production and distribution which could nurture our system of free enterprise.

We have come to think of the social instrument by which we create and execute such a social budget as that of planning. Planning is far from being a new or untested instrument. Such private economic empires as those of Ford or of the DuPonts have prospered to the extent that they have been carefully planned for the smooth and continuous flow of material from mine to forest to factory, to retailer, to consumer. Education is an outstanding example of social planning. Knowing the number of children to be educated, we, through governmental channels, budget our social income to provide the buildings, teachers, and supplies needed. All this is clearly within our democratic tradition.

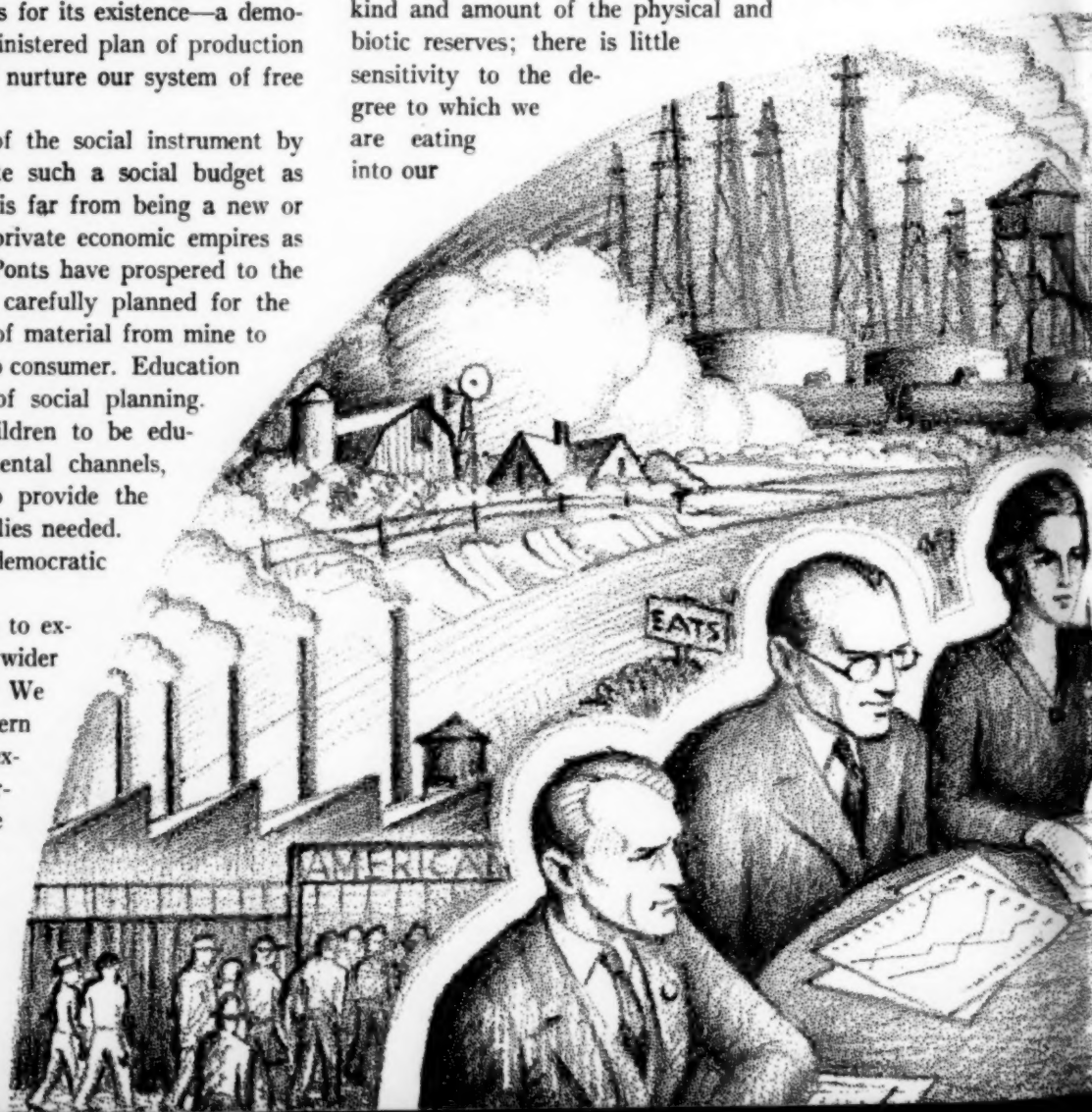
The challenge before us is to extend the use of planning to wider circles of materials and men. We must see that the same concern and intelligence we have exhibited in small scale enterprises is extended to include more and more of our common activities. And basic to

the whole planning movement is the sane, safe and conservative use of natural and human resources.

But what has all of this discussion to do with education? Has education a role to carry in achieving such a balanced culture and, if so, what is that role? In a democracy we proceed on the theory that decisions which affect the citizens shall be made by the common consent of those to be so affected. Such a theory of democratic social dynamics rests firmly on the assumption that those who are to decide in their own behalf must be informed on the facts, issues, and alternatives involved—that an enlightened public is a *sine qua non* of the democratic process of decision and action.

What are the instruments which a democratic people may use to develop an enlightened public mind? The press, radio, discussion forum, cinema, pulpit, and many others exist with more or less of a consciousness of their obligation to provide the opportunity for enlightenment; but the major institutions are the free public school, the college, and university. In schools and colleges all points of view are welcomed and herein the charter of freedom is more surely guaranteed for an unbiased consideration of the facts, the principles and the solutions.

But as yet the faculties of these educational institutions are not sufficiently aware of the problem of planning for the wise use of our resources. Especially is this true of the lower schools. There is little realization of the limitations set for a civilization by the kind and amount of the physical and biotic reserves; there is little sensitivity to the degree to which we are eating into our





storehouse faster than we can afford to do so; there is little vision of how we could use intelligence to balance our needs against these resources and assure ourselves the material substance out of which we can fashion ever better conditions for a prolonged American civilization.

How can the teaching profession gain such knowledge, vision, and will to action? First by sitting down with those scientific research workers who know the inventory of our resources to learn the true state of affairs. Can you picture on one side of a conference table the experts in soil, in agriculture, in forests, in minerals, in water, in economic welfare levels, in health, in recreation, and in each of the other large areas of natural resources and human activities? And on the other side of this conference table the teachers who are experts in child growth and the guidance of youth? Imagine the conference so directed that the teachers could get from the resource experts the basic essentials and the great problems that face us in conservation of soil, water, minerals, forests, etc., and get from the experts in human activities the fundamentals concerning employment and unemployment, welfare levels, health and medical care, social health, crime, etc. Then add to that conference table those who are experts in designing plans to achieve a better co-ordination and balance among all the various factors—those who see the important whole pattern and can fit the numerous parts together into a well-articulated and comprehensive unity.

Could these teachers leave such a conference lacking the will so to direct the learning experiences of childhood and youth

that the next adult generation would be able to use our democratic machinery to protect the earth's storehouse of resources from being wasted? It is the conviction of increasing numbers in our educational profession that there is no other social action as promising in the long run as that of creating within teachers greater knowledge and vision of the problems and promises of intelligent utilization of our resources.

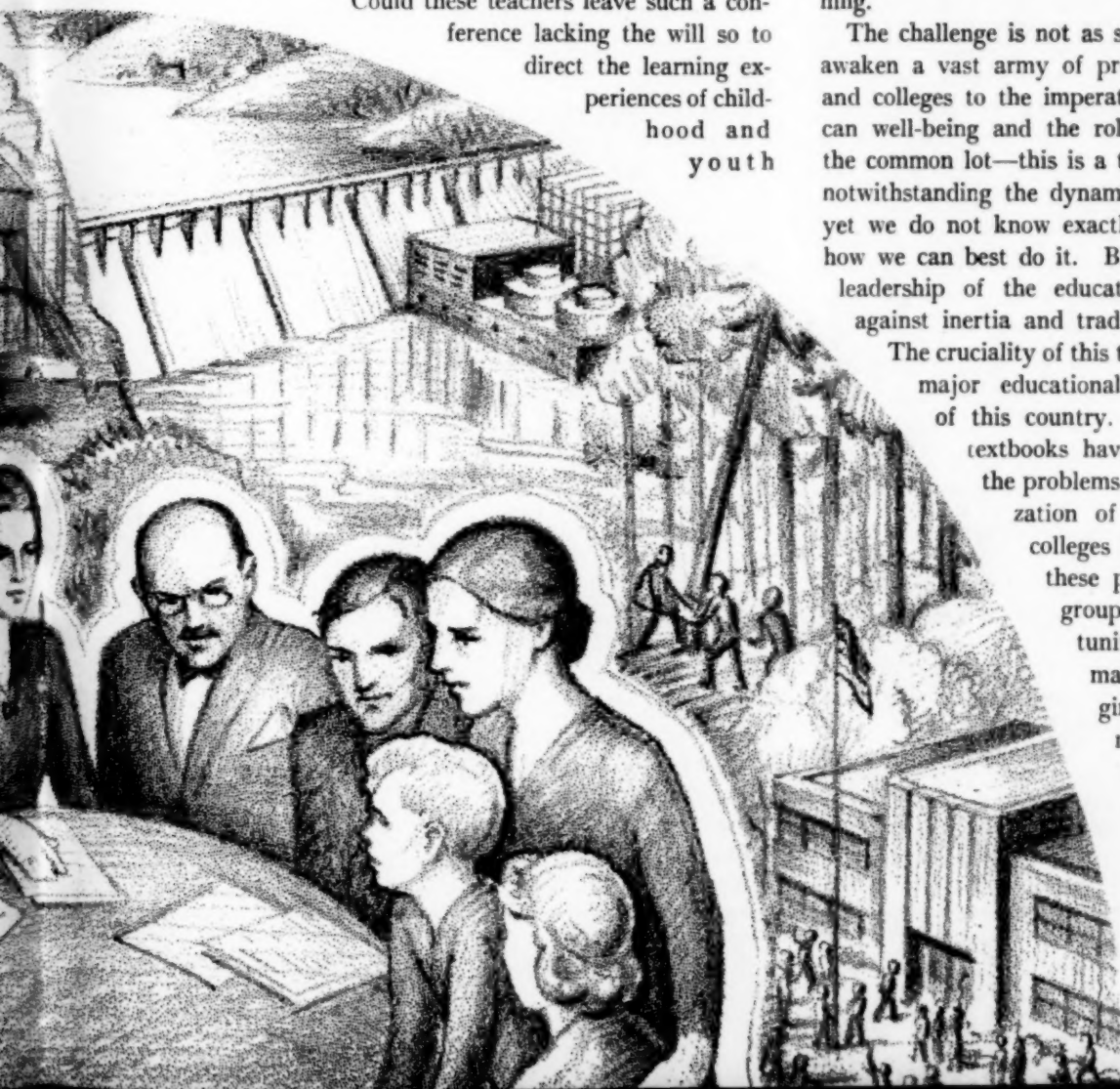
Obviously, sensitizing the teachers is only a first step toward the ultimate goal. One of the urgent next tasks after sensitization is carefully to think through the curricular pattern in order to discover where in the sequence of learning experiences children and youth might most profitably be oriented to these earth resources, human activities, and their wise co-ordination and utilization. How intensively should elementary pupils study the material aspects? How and when might secondary pupils and college students most profitably examine the facts and proposals?

Once a tentative agreement has been reached with reference to these considerations in the curriculum design, teachers must tackle the task of translating the knowledge and proposals of the experts into appropriate learning experiences for pupils and students—things to see, materials to read, experiments to conduct, objects to construct, activities to dramatize, etc. The instructional materials appropriate to the maturity and interests of the learners must be prepared out of the wealth of research available from the experts in resources and planning.

The challenge is not as simple as here described. To awaken a vast army of professional workers in schools and colleges to the imperatives of contemporary American well-being and the role of education in improving the common lot—this is a task of staggering proportions notwithstanding the dynamic challenge of the task. As yet we do not know exactly what needs to be done or how we can best do it. But we are convinced that the leadership of the educational profession must move against inertia and tradition to awaken its members.

The cruciality of this task has been recognized by the major educational agencies and organizations of this country. For some years authors of textbooks have been giving more space to the problems of conservation and wise utilization of resources. Universities and colleges have courses for teachers on these problems. State and regional groups have set up training opportunities for teachers. All in all many significant but scattered beginnings have already been made.

Within this past year a more comprehensive and unified effort has been initiated. The National Education Associa-



tion and the Progressive Education Association have co-operated to create a Commission on Resources and Education. The United States Office of Education has accepted the invitation of these two Associations to join the Commission, and members of the National Resources Planning Board are co-operating unofficially. The present membership of the Commission includes Willard Givens, Executive Secretary of the National Education Association; Frederick Redefer, Executive Secretary of the Progressive Education Association; Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina; Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford University; Ruth West of the Spokane Public Schools; Lewis Mumford, author; C. L. Cushman of the Teacher Education Commission; Harold Hand of Stanford University; John Studebaker of the United States Office of Education; and Paul R. Hanna of Stanford University, serving as chairman of the Commission.

This Commission has as part of its working equipment a 429-page preliminary report entitled "The Role of Education in Utilizing Regional Resources." Within the year it plans to prepare and issue a statement of the purposes toward which the Commission hopes to contribute and a plan of action.

The General Education Board has granted the Commission a sum of money to defray the expenses of organizing and initiating its work. The Commission has held its first meeting in Washington, D. C., and agreed upon certain matters. During the coming summer the Commission is assisting two regions to organize workshops at which teachers may work with resource experts and educational leaders along the lines suggested earlier in this paper. For the Southeast region the Commission on Resources and Education is co-operating with the Commission of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Committee on Curriculum, to provide such workshop opportunities as seem appropriate to the needs of southern schools. For the Pacific Northwest region the Commission on Resources and Education is co-operating with the Northwest Regional Council in establishing a five-week workshop on "resources and education" at Reed College and at the University of Washington. In addition to the workshop in these two centers, shorter institutes will be held on seven summer school campuses in the Pacific Northwest for the purpose of arousing more

concern over the problem of education for better utilization of the natural and human resources within that region. Out of the workshops and institutes in these two regions the Commission on Resources and Education will glean experience which will be basic to the formulation of its longer term program of purpose and action.

There are many activities in which our profession can immediately engage in pursuit of the goal suggested by this paper. The Progressive Education Association is holding regional conferences to which resource experts and educators are invited to pool their contributions. Already such a regional conference has been held with marked success in the Middle States, Minneapolis being the host community to the conference. Other conferences are planned for the Rocky Mountain region, and the Central States, while other regions are considering the possible desirability of such activity. The national conference of the Progressive Education Association in Chicago in February organized its program around the theme of "Resources and Education."

The National Education Association is likewise giving attention to the problem in its long-term program. At the national meeting in Milwaukee next July, several sessions will deal with the problem. The publications of the Association give space to a discussion of natural and human resources. There are many possibilities for focusing on this theme afforded by the publications and meetings of the various State Teachers Associations and Departments of the National Education Association.

Similar tentative plans are being formulated by other organizations and institutions. It is yet too early to say just how the movement will be directed, organized, and financed. However, the beginnings stir the imagination. We envisage a profession of 1,000,000 workers sensitive to the central role of the school in a democracy, aware of the inventory of our earth's storehouse and the human resources for shaping and utilizing our physical and biotic resources, cognizant of the part that balance through planning would play in achieving cultural improvement and stability, and determined that the learning experiences for school children and college youth shall expose the oncoming generation to the facts and create in them the skills, concepts and attitude essential to the task ahead.

### *Additional Study Materials on America's Resources*

A free copy of a list of publications of the National Resources Committee may be had by writing to Lloyd George, National Resources Committee, North Interior Building, Washington, D. C. This list is published in the March issue of *Frontiers of Democracy*. The article by Dr. Charles Merriam of the University of Chicago which appeared in the February, 1939, issue of the *AMERICAN TEACHER* contains a good description of the plans and work of the Committee.

The following pamphlets which summarize some of the more technical studies of the Committee are available at the Government Printing Office for 10 cents

apiece. These pamphlets make a good starting point for teachers interested in this subject: *The Northern Lakes States Region*. 38 pages. 1939; *National Resources Planning Facts*. 14 pages. 1939; *Our Energy Resources*. 42 pages. 1939; *Population Problems*. 30 pages. 1939; *Our Cities*. 38 pages. 1937; *Technology and Planning*. 33 pages. 1937; *The States and Planning*. 32 pages. 1938; *Regional Planning*. 28 pages. 1938; *Planning Our Resources*. 36 pages. 1938; *Water Planning*. 40 pages. 1938; *Federal Relations to Research*. 32 pages. 1939.



# Among the New Books

IDEAS ARE WEAPONS, by MAX LERNER. New York: The Viking Press. 567 pages. \$3.50.

This is a fascinating volume. While originally written as essays, articles and book reviews, it nonetheless possesses a remarkable unity. Lerner is interested not only in people and ideas but also in their cultural background, their audiences and the role they have played in giving redirection to the culture. It is this interest that gives the book its unity. The book is divided into four parts. The first part is entitled "The Uses of Ideas," the second, "A Gallery of Americans," the third, "Some European Thinkers," and the fourth, "Ideas and Society."

In the first part he discusses the role and function of ideas in the culture, distinguishing between what he calls the instrumental and the manipulative approach to ideas. The former "recognizes that ideas are used in behalf of a way of life and in the struggles for its achievement. But it is also humanist. It understands that, if democracy is to mean anything, it must have respect for the common man and not use him cynically as a pawn in the political game. The manipulative approach sees the common people only as so much material to be used. It has no more respect for that material than it would have for the counters in any game. If you view ideas instrumentally, your primary regard is for their validity, and for the social cohesion that will result. If you view them manipulatively, your only regard is for the use you can make of them. They become the instruments not for creativeness but for contrivance."

The discovery that ideas and ideologies are the expression of broad historic, social and class forces, he says, marks a profound revolution in our attitude toward and use of ideas. This approach takes ideas not merely on their face value as independent entities but looks beyond to their motivations, to the class and other cultural and social interests and purposes they promote. It sees the meaning of ideas in the role they have to perform, in the purposes they serve. But, he says, it must go further. It must adopt a thorough-going naturalistic approach. It must treat ideas not only in terms of their internal meaning, consistency and validity, the personal and social motivations to which they give expression but also in terms of their reception, the uses to which they are put not only by the thinkers themselves but by popularizers, demagogues, power-seekers, opinion-makers, propagandists and the responses of the final audiences for which they may be fashioned and used.

"The Copernican revolution in intellectual history will not have born fruit until we adopt a completely naturalistic approach to them. The meaning of an idea must be seen as the focus of four principal converging strains: the man and his biography; the intellectual tradition; the social context, or the age and its biography; the historical consequences of the idea, or the successive audiences that receive it. When we have grasped this we shall have grasped also the force of the irrational in the history of ideas, the role of propaganda as well as of individual creativeness, the role of insecurity and fear as well as of class and national interest, the role of instinctual drives as well as of logical formulations. We shall in short be viewing the idea not wishfully but with our eye on what happens to it."

The genius of the Twentieth Century seems to be its interest in the irrational in human nature and its implications for

every area of life. The works of Freud in psychology, of Bergson and Nietzsche in philosophy, Stendahl, Dostoyevsky and Thomas Mann in literature, of Pareto, Sorel and Hitler in politics are all concerned with the depths of human life, the deeper impulses of thought and action. So far the practical interest in this aspect of human thought has been primarily manipulative and exploitive. Just as Plato translated his social theory into psychology, assigning the various functions of human nature to the respective social classes, so today the elite in both totalitarian and democratic states assign rationality to themselves and irrationality to the masses. Karl Mannheim in his *Ideology and Utopia* on the other hand represents an instrumental approach to the problem of the irrational, studying the general relationships between ideas and the culture in an objective spirit. Generally, however, the science of politics has ignored this realm and has left it to the practical art of politics to exploit it to the advantage of power politicians and vested economic interests.

The manipulative approach to ideas, however, in spite of its temporary successes, he believes, carries within it the seed of its own destruction. For basically it represents a contempt for both ideas and people. It destroys at the same time the only cohesiveness a culture can have, belief in the culture as a way of life; it destroys the basis for science and technology which in the long run are the underlying elements in modern life; and its hatred for life will eventually destroy the culture it dominates because its policies are life and culture-destroying.

"Ideas are necessarily weapons. But they will be effective as weapons only if the uses to which they are put are life-affirming. If the craftsmen in ideas have a belief in the possibilities in human society and a sense of the dignity of ordinary people, that will be the best safeguard of those ultimate standards of validity that we call science and truth."

Lerner discusses "Freedom in the Opinion Industries" in which he suggests something of a cross between SEC and TVA as a means of bringing competition and protection from grosser forms of propaganda into these monopolistic industries which play such a fundamental role in a modern society. It seems to me that this problem demands further study from the very point of view of irrationality in human thought. I have the feeling that Lerner does not see or at least does not express clearly the very direct connection between human irrationality and the controls of our agencies of information and opinion. So long as we think of irrationality as an essentially psychological phenomenon our efforts to understand this problem will probably be futile. Not until we see rationality as a cultural phenomenon and note the circumstances which influence thought are we in the way of understanding the problem.

For one thing we must see rationality itself as a cultural growth, not an inherent psychological faculty. Men discovered and learned rationality as they have discovered and learned other techniques and skills. Rationality has a long history of development as has every art. A complex society such as ours in which the whole world is one unit presents very different problems to rationality than did an agrarian culture in which one's physical horizon marked his environment. Man can interact rationally with his immediate environment only on the basis of a sensory nervous apparatus. Destroy that apparatus, or pervert it, so that what is danger-

ous seems enticing, and what is life-giving seems odious, and life could not long continue. So with our larger environment. Our agencies of information and opinion are the cultural extensions of that nervous apparatus. As news is distorted and as opinions are obstructed or perverted, the culture lacks the necessary basis for rationality. The problem of rationality like the problem of democracy is a problem of structures and procedures in the various aspects of our institutional life. It is not so much a psychological as an educational, political, economic and religious problem. Unfortunately we have in the past confined this problem too largely to a single aspect of our culture, the scientific. But even here we recognized it as a social and cultural phenomenon rather than merely psychological. Science became science when it became social and cumulative rather than a matter of personal idiosyncrasy.

I know of no more penetrating or just discussion of labor than his chapter "Democracy with a Union Card." I wish this chapter might be reprinted in full in *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*. "Political life is only a glove. The hand underneath, which gives social reality to it, is the daily work-life of each person and the habits of thought that it engenders. There is a chance that we shall be able to put more and more social substance into our formal political democracy. But that chance lies only in our being able to democratize the basic units of our economic life, which determine the conditions of our living and the patterns of our thinking. Those units are the corporation and the trade union. Democratize the corporation and the trade union, and you have laid the basis for genuinely democratizing the state. Of these two, it is less likely that the corporation will insure democracy in the trade union than that the trade union will bring democracy to the corporation. Only, to do that, it must first clean its own house and make itself democratic as it grows in power."

The growth and influence of the labor movement depends upon its own democratization. If it democratizes itself it lays the ground-work for the democratization of our whole institutional life, realizing for our people the "great American dream." If it fails to do so, it will not only fail to grow in influence but it may be the difference between that dream becoming a reality and a nightmare. The basic challenge to American life, as indeed to our whole civilization, is the challenge of democracy and rationality. The growth of our technology has made the world one organic unit. This unit is so interknit in its relationships, that its survival depends upon the development of relationships of mutuality. Hence the interests of each element in our civilization are the interests of all, and conversely the interests of all are the interests of each. Therefore, predatory and exploitive interests are destructive of the total good, whether these are found at the head of large corporations or of labor unions.

The thing that gives his book such interest and insight is expressed in the first chapter in his emphasis upon the socio-cultural context of thought and ideas. Thinkers are portrayed against their historic background. We see their ideas as answers to problems posed by their times. They are as truly cultural as personal. The book therefore has significance for teachers not only because of its splendid treatment of our intellectual background but even more as a case study in the cultural interpretation of ideas.

Much school instruction is sterile because information and ideas are presented as self-sufficient, independent and isolated from the life that gives them birth and significance. Then we try to discover interests and motivations, external rewards and prizes, some way to get students to attend to and learn what in its formal and isolated character is without meaning or interest. Much of the problem of interest and motivation would disappear once we learned to deal with materials in

their natural contexts.

History, mathematics, language, literature, the sciences and any other human concern springs out of a cultural soil. It is a function of vital human concerns. It is their relations to these concerns that give them meaning and value. Except as we learn that the materials of instruction must serve for students as weapons with which they cope with their life-problems, and as we see the materials already fashioned as having meaning because of that role which they have played, learning is but a spinal reflex—busywork without point or meaning. Scholarship and the arts must forsake their ivory towers if they are to live. Teachers and students must roll up their sleeves and find themselves in the significant issues of their time or they will be crushed both by the mind-crushing burden of irrelevant "knowledge" and by a world which they cannot understand.

GEORGE E. AXTELLE

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**MOMENT IN PEKING**, by LIN YUTANG. New York: John Day. 815 pages. \$3.00.

**RESTLESS WAVE**, by HARI MATSUI. New York: Modern Age Books. 272 pages. \$2.50.

*Moment in Peking* is the story of a conflict of worlds—the Middle Kingdom and the West. China from 1898 to 1940 faced revolution after revolution in morals, manners, politics and international relations. Revolutionary changes in a world which had relative stability in manners and morals for at least a thousand years had terrific effects on individuals caught in the maelstrom of transition. The old and ordered family pattern which gave stability to its members no longer was adequate to meet the impact of western imperialism. Consequently, family loyalty was forced to give way to national loyalty. During the transition, Lin Yutang portrays the essential vigor of the Chinese people and leaves no doubt of his faith in their ability to surmount the present test.

Hari Matsui is the daughter of a Japanese college professor who insisted on asking questions. Because she was possessed of a restless mind, she rebelled against the traditional role of womanhood—obedience to father and husband—and instead slowly but surely began to question the attitude of old Japan, particularly toward women and workers. After a period of revolutionary activity in Japan, she came to America. Here American intellectual freedom appealed to her, while in New York she met a Japanese artist, also a rebel. The two fell in love western style and were married. After the death of her child, the world crisis impelled her to give what she could toward a better understanding between peoples. Her life today serves as a bridge between east and west, for, while having changed worlds, she has not forgotten Japan.

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THE AMERICAN TEACHER, 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago.



# The Teachers Union in Action

KENOSHA, WIS. (No. 557)—After more than four months of discussion, the City Council took final action on pay cuts for all city employees at its meeting on February 19. For all departments—schools, firemen, police, city hall, etc.—the cuts are approximately uniform, ranging from 3 per cent on salaries of \$1,500 up to 15 per cent on salaries of \$5,000 and more. Teachers will take a cut of 3 to 6 per cent.

The pressure to cut wages came from manufacturers, big taxpayers, real estate dealers and the bank. The first attempt to cut wages in May, 1939, was thwarted by an appeal of all organized city employees to the merchants. Their loud protest against wage-cuts was almost unanimous. Various taxpayers' groups have attempted to use the small home-owner as a front. Paid advertisements in the local press advocating a tax strike may prove a boomerang.

The bank attempted to exert pressure by saying during the fall of 1939 that it would have to refuse additional credit (at 3 per cent interest) unless the city cut expenses (meaning wages). The council thereupon borrowed money in Chicago at 1.5 per cent.

The organized city workers, co-operating with all organized labor, have fought these moves with a measure of success. They have slowed up the wage-cutting program and have materially reduced the size of cuts. *Kenosha Labor*, the weekly labor paper, gave unsparingly of editorial and news space to publicize the fight.

The first argument has been that such retrenchment was unnecessary. Several times the city manager has been forced to admit publicly in open council meetings that this is true. His statement, too, that no city employee is overpaid is a matter of record. That merchants are still opposed to wage reduction because it has begun to hurt their business was reported recently by Hartwick Dahl, president of the Trades and Labor Council. Other representatives from the central labor body spoke against reductions because they might serve as a precedent for all industry; serious attempts should be made to collect delinquent taxes. Kenosha's financial situation, with a debt reduction of a half-million dollars in depression years, does not warrant lower pay.

Incidentally, the adjusted tax rate puts Kenosha very near the bottom of the Wisconsin Tax Commission's list of

some thirty Wisconsin cities arranged in the order of the mill rate.

Although modified wage cuts were finally put through, it is not a complete victory for the proponents of the plan, and it is far from an overwhelming defeat for labor. In every way, lines of labor have been strengthened. The issue provides a tangible, dramatic argument to use in the immediate campaign for new faces on the city council and school board. All labor candidates and organizations can be counted on to capitalize on this latest drive against workers.

The first proposal for wage reduction sponsored by a manufacturer, who is standing for re-election, was a flat 15 per cent cut plus reduction of personnel which would have meant an arbitrary firing of 10 to 12 per cent of the teaching force.

There is a sharp contrast between the recent struggle and the cuts which were imposed in January, 1932. In that year the program was quietly adopted at the city hall and foisted upon the unsuspecting employees. In the schools, officers of the company union were called in and told to break the news to teachers. Those leaders lost caste with the teachers, were soon voted out of office, and have been in the background ever since. There was plenty of discussion, too, but it was simply helpless complaining after the damage had been done.

Labor representatives on school board and city council fought valiantly for what they thought was right. As the guardians of honesty and fair play, they exposed false statements, dishonest figures, and questionable motives of the enemies of labor. More men like them are needed on governing boards, and there is now a better chance of electing them. It would seem that education can survive only when its benefactors control government. Support must come from putting on the tax-levying and tax-spending boards men who have the interests of workers and workers' children at heart.

HOWLAND PADDOCK

★

DETROIT, MICH. (No. 231)—The Detroit Federation of Teachers has been extremely active in efforts to retain the full school appropriation asked by the Board of Education for the coming year. The school budget was sharply criticized by the Mayor as being too high. The entire controversy between the Mayor

and the Board has been thoroughly aired by the press and given the widest public attention. Frances Comfort, president of Local 231, has spoken with the Mayor and other city officials in defense of the educational budget, and as a representative of the classroom teachers of Detroit, her statements have received serious consideration. In addition, the Union supplied every teacher in the Detroit system with a printed statement explaining the issues involved in the controversy.

Through efforts of the Local the labor movement in Detroit, both CIO and AFL, has rallied to the support of the school budget. A speaker's bureau has been set up for the purpose of acquainting all organizations in Detroit with the needs and problems of the public schools. A special issue of the Detroit Federation of Labor's newspaper, dealing with the American Federation of Teachers, educational problems and school finance, was prepared by Local 231 and sent to all teachers in Detroit.

The Local also held a most successful luncheon meeting on February 24, when Dr. Roma Gans of Teachers' College, Columbia, was guest speaker. Luncheon reservations were completely sold out, and 300 people attended. Roma Gans is a former chairman of the Teachers' College Chapter of the American Federation of Teachers.

★

CINCINNATI, OHIO (No. 479)—In a resolution which was presented to the Central Labor Council by President R. E. Abercrombie, the Union commended the Council's attack on poor relief standards in Cincinnati and pointed out "how difficult it is to give proper education to children who are undernourished or who have been forced to stay home from lack of clothing through no fault of their own. We know what hardships lack of sufficient clothing, food and shelter has meant for Cincinnati school children," the resolution stated.

In the February 9 issue of the Cincinnati Labor Council's paper, the *Chronicle*, there appeared a story headed, "1,500 Truants Are Relief Referrals." Since November, 1937, there have been 1,531 cases of truancy which have been referred to the Department of Public Relief for some adjustment. The study seems to indicate that truancy began to soar at that time because of relief complications. Absences of children of

relief families, according to the records, involved the need of shoes, outside clothing, underwear and stockings. In many cases the records were marked, "None available."

A Citizen's Committee recently corroborated the Central Labor Council's findings on miserable relief conditions in Cincinnati.

★  
NEW YORK, N. Y. (No. 537)—The Board of Higher Education of New York City will support a tenure bill to be introduced into the state legislature by the Union Legislative Conference. The Conference agreed to several changes in the draft and both parties agreed not to introduce amendments to a tenure law without the consent of the other. Among other things the bill confers legal tenure on all who have been granted tenure by Board By-Law.

The New York University Chapter of the College Teachers Union has issued a seven page pamphlet entitled "A Program for Departmental Democracy" which is being sent to the 2,000 members of the University faculty. Certain suggestions are made to serve as a basis of discussion by the membership.

"Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties" will be the theme of the Third Annual Luncheon of the College Teachers Union to be held April 13.

★  
NEWARK, O. (No. 411)—The School Board unanimously agreed to the request of the Union that two Newark teachers be reimbursed for deductions made on account of illness. A speech by Dr. R. W. Jones, newly elected president of the Newark Board of Education, is printed in full in the *Newark Teacher*. Local 411 has requested that teachers' salaries be restored during the last half of the 1939-40 school year. This would cost \$8,856 and would amount to a restoration of 5.3 per cent.

★  
PHILADELPHIA, PA. (No. 474)—Leaders of the WPA Local report that the Union has been successful in getting "falsification charges" withdrawn. By writing to National Director of Employment Fred R. Rausch, the Local was able to get a statement in agreement with its position that "falsification" not be used except in those instances where fraud was actually committed or where evidence had been produced to support the charge. The *Leader* reports that President Counts spoke at a recent Union meeting and that the leaders in the organization drive are Ben Zion and Estelle Thomas.

★  
PHILADELPHIA, PA. (No. 192)—According to a recent bulletin of the Union, the recent 5 per cent salary cut in Philadelphia would not have been

necessary had not the Board used the 1939 budgetary surplus of \$437,072.25 for the reduction of the bonded debt. The same bulletin reports that although enrollment in the elementary schools in Philadelphia declined 36,285 from 1930 to 1940, enrollment in the secondary schools during the same period increased 28,912. According to these data, the school budget should have been increased by \$1,364,276, while actually it decreased by \$2,275,000. The March issue of the *Philadelphia Teacher* will contain a letter on this matter which was sent to Superintendent A. J. Stoddard. The Union is attempting to raise funds to bring suit against the Board of Education in an effort to fight the recent pay cuts and insure the inviolability of teachers' contracts.

★  
PERU, IND. (No. 634)—Recently it was reported that a professor at the University of Indiana declared in one of his classes that Peru teachers are inferior and that organized labor is guilty of defending poor teaching. Careful investigation of the Peru teachers has shown that they have received uniformly high success grades, have been active in professional organizations and are respected citizens of the community. It is probable that the Indiana State Federation of Labor and the Indiana Council of Teachers Unions will demand of the University that the professor's charges be substantiated or that he withdraw them. Indiana AFT members have pledged monthly support to the Peru teachers who are fighting one of the most important cases in the country.

★  
TRENTON, N. J. (No. 437)—In its fight for the restoration of teachers' salaries, the Union has sent a letter to all employees of the Board of Education urging that they support Louis Josephson's fight to have the "\$25,000,000 worth of tangible, personal property" which is now going untaxed, taxed. The Union's letter points out that other city employees' salaries have been restored and urges all employees to support the legal assessment of personal property.

★  
BUFFALO, N. Y. (No. 377)—"The Outlook for New York State Education" was the subject which President George S. Counts spoke on at the demonstration for full state aid sponsored by the Joint Council of Teachers Unions of Erie County at the Hotel Buffalo on March 8. Other activities of the Local reported in the February *Buffalo Teacher* were: President George W. Provost's speech over WEBR for full state aid, a speech by Assemblyman Harold B. Ehrlich over WEBR sponsored by the Union in which he urged state aid for kinder-

gartens, a growth of 15 per cent in the Union's membership during the last few months and reprinting of a number of reviews of Union-member Reuel Deany's new book of poetry, *Connecticut River and Other Poems*.

The requested educational budget for the school year 1940-41 is \$600,000 less than the amount expended in 1938-39 and \$287,000 less than was actually appropriated in 1939-40. The budget contemplates eliminating 42 additional teaching positions, allows for night schools to be opened all year and is the smallest budget in thirteen years. The budget is based upon full state aid. If this is not granted, the school budget might have to absorb a cut of \$400,000.

★  
NEW YORK, N. Y. (No. 453)—The WPA Teachers Union hailed the recent announcement by the Board of Education of New York City that WPA teachers would receive recognition and credit for work performed on educational projects as "the best reply to those who have either carelessly or maliciously slandered the efforts of thousands of WPA workers." The Union regretted, however, that other educational workers such as typists, clerks, examiners and child nutrition workers were not extended the same recognition. Copies of the brief filed before the Board of Education by Local 453 and other materials used in the campaign for credit may be obtained by writing to 28 West 31 Street, New York City.

★  
BREMERTON, WASH. (No. 336)—Announcing a membership record well worth attention, the Union reveals that 90 per cent of all eligible teachers are members. Of the 110 teachers in the school system, twenty-three are new to the city. Teachers are required to have served one semester of satisfactory teaching before their names may be submitted for membership.

In an attempt to assure the election of labor school board members, the Union questioned six candidates on their attitudes. The questions were: Do you believe teachers should have a share in the administrative affairs of the schools? Do you favor sabbatical leave for teachers? Do you believe teachers should have public or private hearings before dismissal? Why do you wish to run for office?

★  
TERRE HAUTE, IND. (No. 597)—The Federation of Adult Education Teachers has initiated a new program of workers' education among the local unions and reports that the labor groups are co-operating. Several public forum groups have also been started by members of the Union.



MADISON, WIS. (No. 223) — The "economy drive" at the University of Wisconsin has cost the University five prominent members of the faculty, it is charged by an editorial in the *Madison Teacher*, official organ of the University of Wisconsin Teachers Union:

"Since last spring five well-known professors have accepted calls to other universities; and it is impossible to avoid concluding that the inability of their departments to meet their offers, or better them, has played a large part in their decisions to leave. . . .

"It is impossible to believe that the people of the state wish to see their University slide back down the long hill she has climbed; but the present exodus from the faculty is a clear indication of the direction in which we will continue to go unless some positive action is taken."

★

MILWAUKEE, WIS. (No. 79) — A 6 per cent salary cut has been levied against the faculty members of the nine Wisconsin teachers colleges. The cut is the result of a budget reduction provided in the budget adopted by the Wisconsin legislature last year. The cut of 5 per cent called for in the budget was not put into effect in 1939. Larger pay cuts became operative in 1940.

The acuteness of the problem is revealed by statistics concerning the rise in enrollments at the colleges. Despite the fact that the number of students increased 30 per cent from 1937 to 1939, the number of teachers rose 3.2 per cent and the total salaries paid declined 5 per cent.

★

GARY, IND. (No. 4) — The Board of Education of Gary has just announced that maximums on the salary schedule will be increased by \$150. This increase which is the result of a recent campaign by the Union sets the following maximums: two-year training, \$1,800; three years, \$2,000; four years, \$2,400; and five years, \$2,700.

During the past year several instances of teachers being in the wrong place on the salary schedule have been corrected by Mike Verkuilen's grievance committee. It also has a ruling from the Board that henceforth all decisions will be made applicable to all teachers, eliminating special rules for special groups.

Also regarding teacher-welfare Local 4 is working out a plan to provide sabbatical leaves, a plan to provide exchange teachers, and is urging teachers to participate in discussions of school administration policies. A committee is working on a plan whereby the Board can reduce the school day for both teacher and pupil, and another group is

working with Purdue university in its survey of the Gary School System.

The current number of the *Gary Teacher* gives several columns to an explanation of teachers' income tax problems. The publications committee also has published a directory of all school employees, which it distributes free of charge.

Some of the activities now being studied by the members follow: specific help for teachers whose academic freedom has been jeopardized; just regulation of overtime demands on teachers; time allowance for educational meetings and for visiting other schools, and raising the summer school salary schedule to the regular day school schedule.

MILWAUKEE, WIS. (No. 212)

—In one of the most significant victories ever won by a union teacher in Wisconsin, Dr. Alexander Hugh Clark was ordered reinstated as supervisor of the dental clinic at the Milwaukee Vocational School in a decision by the Milwaukee circuit court. The judge held that Dr. Clark had tenure as a teacher, a supervisor, a technical expert, and a faculty member. The court ordered that he be paid his salary in full from the date of his dismissal and awarded him \$100 for the "costs and disbursements." Dr. Clark's dismissal followed an investigation which the court criticized on the following grounds: (1) no specifications of charges were made; (2) no notice on specified charges was given; (3) Dr. Clark was not given due opportunity to prepare a defense; (4) the testimony was not under oath; (5) the prosecutor was allowed to rule on evidence; and (6) no record of what transpired at the hearing was preserved.

HARRISBURG, PA. — The Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers has been holding conferences with the State Director of Teachers Education and Certification to secure safeguards in the administration of a teacher-rating plan. The Union asks that the safeguards be written into the rating card to be used throughout the state. The Union stated that teachers' jobs should not be staked on the assumption that all supervisors will practice safeguards which are not written into the rating card or otherwise specified by state requirements. Among the safeguards urged are the following:

1. Teachers should be notified immediately of any unsatisfactory rating on even one specific item on the rating card.

2. Unsatisfactory ratings should be based on frequent observation; one or two observations during the year would, in many instances, be insufficient.

3. Whenever an unsatisfactory rating might jeopardize the position of a teacher, more than one supervisor should do the rating.

4. The meaning of items on the card should be clearly defined.

5. Unrestricted use of "anecdotal records" is dangerous.

6. Supervisors should have specific evidence to substantiate unsatisfactory rating.

★

SAVANNAH, GA. (No. 207) — Leaders of the Chatham County Teachers Association (a local of the American Federation of Teachers) have taken the initiative in sponsoring a radio program, "Education and Discussion," which has become an important influence in supplying public information concerning schools. Under the leadership of John Varnedoe, chairman of the Local's radio committee, the program includes the participation of pupils, both in musical presentations and in panel discussions.

★

TRENTON, N. J. (No. 437) — An appeal to the Commissioner of Education has been filed by Herbert Cole, president of the New Jersey State Federation of Teachers, who was dismissed from his position in Trenton because of alleged infliction of corporal punishment on a pupil.

The appeal charges abuse of discretionary powers by the Board of Education and contends that the Board's procedures were illegal. The appeal charges that the Board refused to take the testimony of expert witnesses and character witnesses. In addition, the appeal charges that the punishment was out of proportion to the alleged offense, and points out that the father of the boy concerned had asked the Board to drop all charges against Cole.

★

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. (No. 444) — Everett Kirkpatrick, Local 444, is chairman of a committee studying propaganda in the schools. Serving with him are Hedvig Ylvisaker and Dr. Brameld. The next issue of the *Minnesota Teacher* will carry an article on their findings.

★

ATLANTA, GA. (No. 89) — The February issue of the *Atlanta Teacher* carries a report of President Counts' visit, a review of Mary Ellen Chase's *A Goodly Fellowship*, the results of the local high school students on the Regents' examinations, and notes on recent books by Atlanta teachers. The members of Local 89 raised \$340 through the purchase of birthday ball tickets for the fight against

infantile paralysis. This did not include money raised through the dime buttons. The magazine also announces that the budget adopted by the Board of Education for 1940 carries salaries for twelve months and automatic increases and increments effective September 1. The 1940 budget is \$19,682 over the 1939 budget. The *Journal of Labor* carried a history of Local 89 by Allie Mann, former president, in its February 9 issue.

★  
ANDERSON, IND. (No. 519)—Teachers of Anderson, Ind., have been restored to their proper places on the salary schedule. This fulfills the terms of a three-year agreement between Local 519 of the American Federation of Teachers and the Anderson Board of Education.

★  
ROCKFORD, ILL. (No. 540)—Appeals against threatened salary cuts were heard by the Board of Education at a joint meeting with the Rockford Federation of Teachers, the Teachers' Club, and representatives of the Central Labor Union. Representatives of the Central Labor Union emphasized that to cut salaries in the face of rising costs of living would be ridiculous. A committee to study the school crisis in Rockford and to make recommendations was the proposal backed by those participating. Among other groups supporting this plan was the Federated Lutheran Brotherhood. Other organizations made public pleas against dropping of machine shop or abolition of music instruction.

★  
SEATTLE, Wash. (No. 411)—A survey of the state revenue and general financial situation in Washington is being conducted by a committee of the American Federation of Teachers at the University of Washington. The work is being undertaken in recognition of the fact that the welfare of the entire educational system is dependent upon state revenues.

Preliminary investigation and consultation with other organizations also concerned with school and public services strongly indicate that a renewed fight for a graduated income tax is necessary.

★  
VIRGINIA, MINN. (No. 508)—Teachers in the rural schools of St. Louis County, reported to be the largest county in the United States, approximately 3,000 square miles, are all members of the American Federation of Teachers, the St. Louis County Teachers Federation. The principals are likewise 100 per cent organized, being members of the state-wide administrators local.

St. Louis County includes several cities and large towns which are not 100 per cent organized.

★  
PALO ALTO, CALIF. (No. 442)—"Is Youth Being Prepared?" for jobs, leisure, political intelligence and social responsibility was the subject of a panel discussion sponsored by the Union on March 7. Participants in the panel were Dr. J. C. Almack, president of the Palo Alto Board of Education; Rev. Donald Baldwin, Wesley Foundation Director; Dr. P. E. Davidson, Stanford University; Mrs. Bertrand Ehrmann, president of the Palo Alto PTA Council; Ivan Linder, principal of Palo Alto High School and Dr. E. R. Hilgard, president of the Local.

★  
LOS ANGELES, CALIF. (No. 430)—The College Section of the Union, the Civil Liberties Union and the Lawyers' Guild jointly sponsored a one-day conference on civil liberties on March 2. More than two hundred persons attended the conference including delegates from fifteen to twenty organizations. Among the organizations represented were both CIO and AFL unions, the League of Women Voters and the American Association for Advancement of Colored People. Among the speakers were Ordean Rockey, representing the mayor of Los Angeles; Franz Sachse, who brought the greetings of Governor Olson; Lieutenant-Governor Ellis Patterson; A. L. Wirin, civil liberties attorney; Dr. Frank Davis, member of the College Section of Local 430; and Dr. Broadus Mitchell, member of the Baltimore AFT, who is teaching at Occidental College. A continuation committee of twenty-five members was elected to carry on the work of the conference.

★  
LOWELL, MASS. (No. 495)—Because of a serious attack on the school budget and kindergartens, the membership of the Union has been doubled recently and an aggressive membership campaign has been started. President George S. Counts spoke at the Union's meeting on February 12. Other speakers were Walter A. Sidley, president of the Massachusetts Federation of Teachers; John Saxton, president of the Boston AFT; and John H. Griffin, president of the Lowell Central Labor Union.

Local 495 is conducting a series of programs on education over station WLLH of Lowell as a means of publicizing the work of the schools and fighting budget cuts. Speaking recently over the program was Mrs. Veronica S. Dodge, former member of the School Committee, who declared in her speech: "Education in modern times

is an expensive necessity . . . not an expensive luxury. The last institution where economy in city government should be practiced is in the school. In recent years the school department expenses have been cut to the bone. . . . The organization (AFT) is certain to serve as an ultimate benefit to the child and parent, as well as the teacher."

★  
CHATTANOOGA, TENN. (No. 246)—During the recent months the Local has sponsored a successful lecture by H. V. Kaltenborn, a meeting and dinner for President George S. Counts, and changed its official name to the Chattanooga-Hamilton County Teachers' Union. The change in name was made when the Local adopted a new constitution. Willard Millsaps, J. Steger Hunt and O. C. Kirkman represented the Union at the Southern Conference of the AFL at Atlanta, Ga. Labor leaders, school officials and Union members attended the dinner for President Counts on January 31.

★  
ST. LOUIS, MO. (No. 420)—Paul Preisler, president of the AFT Local, has been endorsed by the St. Louis Industrial Council and the *Labor Tribune*, AFL paper, for membership on the Board of Education.

★  
MISSOULA, MONT. (No. 497)—While no official communication has been received from the State Board of Education by the five University of Montana professors who were asked to resign, newspaper stories indicate that the Board rescinded its action of September 11, 1939. Apparently the effect of the Board's action at its recent meeting was to withdraw all charges and grant full reinstatement to all professors involved. The Board stated, however, that "All material and evidence will be left on file with the Board in case it is needed in the future."

★  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. (No. 61)—The WPA section of the Local has a number of members engaged in various civic and educational activities. Mrs. Berry, who teaches dressmaking to Negro women, is a member of the Negro Women's Housing Council. Six Union members are alumni of the Pacific Coast School for Workers; one is a member of the executive board. Mrs. Moore is teaching consumers' economics to her classes.

Squire F. Browne, who heads the Union's Statistics Committee, prepares a monthly bulletin, "Selected and Annotated Articles from 115 Magazines." It is mimeographed and includes articles about social problems, labor, business,



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foreign affairs, education and other fields of interest to leaders in labor and in adult education. It is sent free to those who send written requests to the state office of the Works Projects Administration, 660 Mission St., San Francisco, and has received international notice. Readers from Canada, Mexico, the Hawaiian Islands, and nearly every state of the United States praise its unique service. With the listing of each article is a brief background of the writer of the article, his or her point of view, and an occasional pungent comment by the commentator.

The Statistics Committee is preparing studies on special needs of racial and foreign language minorities for adult education, as well as other pertinent data.

★  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. (No. 238)—Fred M. Curtis was re-elected president of the Local at its annual meeting in January. Dudley Parsons, Jr., is vice-president, Selmer Drage, corresponding secretary, Carl Nelson, financial secretary and Melvin Olson, treasurer. Delegates to the Central Labor Union are Selmer Drage, Paul Hendrickson and E. Skibness. Harry Genung, Ralph Ahlstrom and Charles Ziering were elected to the executive board.

★  
FLOODWOOD, MINN. (No. 506)—The Union at its last meeting heard reports on the Minnesota Hospital Service Association and the Group Health Mutual from Carl Johnson and Arnold Woestchoff. A committee was also appointed to investigate the status of sick leave. A changing committee of two or three members was appointed to visit each board meeting.

★  
NEW YORK, N. Y. (No. 5)—An intensive four-month campaign by New York teachers and parents has resulted in the rescinding of the four-day ban on substitutes. The measure, adopted by the Board in order to meet financial difficulties created by a \$8,300,000 cut in school funds, required that a four-day period must elapse between the first absence of a teacher and the calling of a substitute. During the four-day period, the absent teacher's classes had to be handled by his colleagues. All teacher organizations sent formal protests against the economy measure. The New York Teachers Union sent a brief on the matter to the Mayor, and its pamphlet on the four-day ban was distributed by the United Parents Association.

★  
BOSTON, MASS. (No. 441)—Action organized by the Boston local of the American Federation of Teachers not only prevented an increase in class size

but resulted in a reduction in the number of pupils per class in the first grade.

The Boston School Committee announced a plan to increase class size to such an extent that thirty temporary teachers would be eliminated and some permanent teachers would have had as many as fifty-three pupils in a class. The protest resulted in the committee's reversing its action and securing a reduction in class size of the first grade to thirty-five. Organized labor and other civic-minded groups were among those taking part in this effective action.

★  
HAMMOND, IND. (No. 394)—Carl Mullen, president of the Indiana State Federation of Labor, appeared before the State Board of Tax Commissioners to protest a \$13,000 reduction which had been made by the tax board in the tuition fund of the Hammond school budget.

Following the hearing the State Board of Tax Commissioners saw fit to restore the cut. Had the reduction been upheld, it would have seriously handicapped Hammond in maintaining its salary schedule.

MILWAUKEE, WIS. (No. 252)

—Thanks to a two-month fight by the Milwaukee Public School Teachers Union, the Milwaukee schools have been saved from a cut of several hundred thousands of dollars urged by realty and other groups. The Board of School Directors, while refusing to accede to the demands of the Common Council, which had bowed to the economy onslaught, compromised to the extent of reducing the budget by \$19,000. The Common Council had demanded a slash totaling \$229,000.

In fighting the cuts, the Union pointed out that school expenditures had been reduced \$1,800,000 since 1931, despite an increase of 6,000 in school enrollments.

★  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. (No. 59)—Louis Adamic, writer and lecturer, was the speaker at a lecture sponsored by the Local. Alice Drechsler presented Dean Willey who introduced the speaker. The lecture was arranged by Margaret Thomson, assisted by Mercedes Nelson and Sara Neprude. At a recent dinner of the Union and the Building Service Employees, George E. Wallace, former member of the State Tax Commission, urged that the constitutionality of the law passed by the state legislature making it impossible to collect Money and Credit taxes of more than

three years delinquency be challenged. The law meant a loss of \$4,000,000 for Minneapolis and \$3,000,000 for Duluth, Wallace said. He also pointed out that startling evasions of the Money and Credit tax had been discovered by the Tax Commission.

★  
ST. PAUL, MINN. (No. 28 and No. 43)—Twenty St. Paul teachers who retired after many years of efficient public service were honored at a reception at the Woman's City club. Several hundred persons attended, including city officials, PTA officers, former pupils, and fellow teachers of the retiring teachers. The combined years of service of the retiring teachers exceeded 660 years. The reception was sponsored by the St. Paul Federation of Women Teachers and Men Teachers.

★  
DULUTH, MINN. (No. 381)—Christine Rud, former secretary of the State Federation of Teachers, has been elected local chairman of the committee on arrangements for the state convention of the AFT which will be held at Duluth on April 26-27. Other members of the committee on arrangements are Louis Travers, Miles Sutton, Mrs. Richardson and Miriam Sawyer. The committee will work under S. G. Mooney who was delegated as representative of the state executive council. Harold Riise, Ruth Bloomquist and Frank Grahek, members of Local 508, are in charge of arrangements for the banquet Friday, April 26.

★  
ST. CLOUD, MINN. (No. 561)—The Education Policies Committee of the Minnesota State Federation of Teachers headed by E. M. Paulu has issued a statement entitled, "Rise of the Classroom Teacher." Other members of the State Committee are Mrs. M. S. Harding, Dudley Parsons, Jr., Abigail Quigley, and M. J. VanWagenen. The statement stresses the importance of the promotion of teacher welfare in the AFT program.

★  
FULTON COUNTY, GA. (No. 188)—The Colored School Teachers' Union of Fulton County reports the election of officers which was held February 16. Mexico Shehee Hembree was re-elected president. Other officers re-elected were Ida Prather, vice-president; Marie Anderson, recording secretary; Evelyn Spain, formerly corresponding secretary, was elected financial secretary, succeeding Claudine Harvey. Hembree was re-elected as delegate to the Atlanta Federation of Trades. In addition to the election of officers the meeting featured entertainment.



ROCHESTER, N. Y. (No. 616)—The Union is devoting most of its effort to fighting retrenchment drives and organizing a campaign to restore state aid. Among the methods which the Local hopes to use to publicize this campaign are an article in the local labor paper, a radio program, notices to other teachers explaining the Local's position on state aid and getting prominent educators at the University of Rochester to wire the state legislature.

BOTHEL, WASH. (No. 619)—The Union has signed up five new members, and prospects are excellent for five more within a short time. Membership efforts are stronger, and better results are expected after more teachers have been contacted.

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO (No. 606)—Two reports were scheduled for Union meetings, according to the Local's bulletin: Mr. Geiger, chairman of the Tenure Committee, was to report on the work of his committee in February while Mr. Barr, chairman of the Committee on Appointment, Salary, Promotion and Academic Rank, was scheduled to report at the March meeting. Items in the financial report worth noting were a \$50.00 donation to the Yellow Springs Youth Council and an item

called "penalty charges" for late payment of dues.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE FEDERATION—The annual meeting of the Massachusetts State Federation of Teachers will be held at Simmons College, Boston, on May 4.

BUFFALO, N. Y. (No. 39)—The February meeting of the Buffalo Industrial Teachers Association heard a report by Lot Cooke on the state and city educational budgets. The executive committee urged that a mass meeting, jointly sponsored by all locals be held in Buffalo to present the real facts behind the governor's budget which the newspapers "have distorted."

COLUMBUS, OHIO (No. 438)—The March meeting of the University of Ohio Local was scheduled to consider the problems of assistants and graduate students and to hear a report on "what really happened at the American Youth Congress Citizenship Institute" which was held recently in Washington, D. C.

CHICAGO, ILL. (No. 1)—On March 6 and March 13, Raymond Cook, publicity chairman of the Union, Evelyn Sholund, chairman of the Union Study Class, and Dean Ernest O. Melby, School

of Education, Northwestern University, spoke over WCFL on "The Selection and Training of Teachers." More than 1,000 copies of the Witty-DeBoer radio programs on reading have been distributed by the Local. The Union has been exhibiting in its offices drawings made by students from all parts of the world. Walter G. Hjertstedt, teacher at Lane High School, worked out a plan whereby students in his classes interested in art have exchanged drawings and ideas with students from 23 foreign countries.

NEW YORK, N. Y. (No. 5)—One thousand New York City teachers joined with 500 delegates from the United Parents Association, one hundred mothers from the United Kindergarten Association and approximately 4,000 trade union representatives from AFL and CIO unions in the "Save Our Schools" march on the state legislature at Albany, N. Y. A 14-car "Save Our Schools" train lead the way. Highlight of the day's trip was the presentation of petitions bearing 300,000 signatures gathered by the New York Federation of Teachers to Assemblyman Abbot Low Moffat. In her speech Dr. Bella Dodd, state legislative representative of the Union, declared, "The people are ready to defend the schools because free public schools are the basis of democracy."

## On the Labor Front

Edited from the Labor Press  
and the Federated Press

THEY TOOK THE BOSS AT HIS word and went into business for themselves and lived happily ever after. . . .

The Laundry Workers International Union (AFL), of Spokane, Wash., which started a laundry of its own after calling a citywide strike two and one-half years ago, is now going to set up the city's largest laundry. The new plant will be big enough to employ every union laundry worker in Spokane.

"We have watched the Spokane laundry workers' strike for a long time and did what we could to help," said Meyer L. Lewis, AFL west coast director. "Now we mean to go into the laundry business in a big way and build and operate the largest laundry plant this city has ever seen. Instead of dribbling along with an expense of \$50,000 a year, we may as well invest \$500,000 at one time, if necessary, and bring the issue to a final decision."

A SIX-YEAR PICKETING MARATHON ended in victory when strikers at the Edgewater Beach Hotel, Chicago,

won a union agreement. The unions involved were the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Hotel & Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League (both AFL). The walkout, which started in January, 1934, when the hotel's six electricians struck for a \$28 monthly wage increase, was the longest in Chicago history. Three months after the electricians walked out, 120 bartenders, bus boys, cooks and waiters struck in sympathy.

THREE WEEKS OF INTENSIVE telephone picketing won a contract renewal for office workers at Credit Clearing House, Inc., New York City.

The 115 striking members of the United Office & Professional Workers (CIO) returned to work February 12 under an agreement that provided \$1.25 increases for all employees getting \$16 or less—boosting the minimum to \$15.25—and \$1 increases for all others. Union shop, paid vacations and sick leave, and arbitration were also included. Tele-

phone picketing was so successful during the last days of the one-month strike that often every one of the company's 77 trunk lines was tied up by sympathizers demanding to know why the firm refused to renew its union agreement.

ALMOST SIX MILLION WORKERS have been involved in activities of the National Labor Relations Board since February, 1935, it was disclosed recently by that body, which also revealed that well over a million United States workers have voted in NLRB elections since that time.

That the machinery of the NLRB kept up with the vast number of cases is indicated by the fact that elections totaled about 60 per month with almost every state, Alaska and Hawaii represented in about 23,000 cases.

J. Warren Madden, NLRB chairman, pointed out that the co-operation of the AFL and CIO auto unions involved in the recent collective bargaining election of the General Motors Corporation's 125,000 employees in 59 plants made

possible a quick decision with least possible loss of time.

Fifty-two employers, the Board said, have thus far taken advantage of the Board's ruling of last July and have asked for NLRB elections in their plants to determine which of two or more unions has the right of majority representation.

★  
**JOBS AT PREVAILING WAGES** will be provided more than a half million workers as one of the major economic results of the present \$770,000,000 national slum clearance and low-rent public housing program, according to the United States Housing Authority. Approximately \$225,000,000 will go for wages of 510,000 engineers, mechanics, laborers, and clerical workers engaged on projects to rehouse approximately 160,000 low-income families from substandard shacks and shanties in the nation's blighted areas. An estimated \$280,000,000 will be paid for construction materials.

★  
**CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH** and the anonymous character of the owners of wealth constitute two great dangers facing society at present, a statement by the Archbishops and Bishops of the administrative board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington, D. C., declared.

Hailed by the Catholic press as the most important pronouncement of the American Catholic hierarchy since 1919, the statement consisted of a discussion of "The Church and Social Order."

Discussed were ownership, property and labor, security, wages, and establishment of social order. The position of the Catholic church on these issues was stated.

The present economic order, the statement goes on, rests on the sanctity of private property. "If the majority of our citizens possess insufficient private property to be independent of a wage income for even a short period of time, then there is grave danger to the entire social fabric.

"Social stability rests upon this basis of individual ownership of property. There should be more of it and not less of it if our existing economic system is to remain secure."

★  
**THE QUESTION OF UNION DISCRIMINATION** will be one of the questions arbitrated in the clash between Frank E. Gannett, publisher of the *Rochester Democrat Chronicle*, and Republican presidential aspirant, and the Rochester Newspaper Guild (CIO) in the firing of Herman Lincoln, descendant of Abraham Lincoln, shortly after the veteran circulation man joined the Guild.

Lincoln's 23-year record on the paper

was suddenly marred by an improper attitude and lack of punctuality, according to the Guild, as soon as the 31-year-old circulation man and other members of the circulation staff had joined the union. Morgan Hull, international representative of the ANG, complaining to Gannett about the firing of Lincoln and the other workers, was told that the publisher could not be bothered with such "picayune matters." The union is taking firm action to force reinstatement.

★  
**GOOD BUT NOT GOOD ENOUGH**, could well be the reaction of employed women after reading Secretary Perkin's report on the first year's operation of the Wages and Hours Act. For while wages of women went up faster than those of men during the first twelve months of the law, Madame Perkins said that "Many women still received less than an adequate living wage in September, 1939, if the averages reported at that time be compared with the minimum budgets used for minimum wage purposes in nine states. The lowest of these requires \$17.99 a week, but women's average week's earnings were less than this in 17 of the 24 industries reporting."

Consumers' goods industries set the pace with increased employment of 10 per cent and more for both sexes, it was announced. Radios, phonographs, hardware, cotton goods, auto tires and tubes, glass and pottery were in this group. There were, however, considerable declines in hourly earnings in hosiery mills, coat and suit factories and in plants producing women's undergarments.

★  
**INSTITUTION OF THE AFL'S** "greatest organizing drive in the south" by which it is hoped to enroll an additional 500,000 workers by the end of 1940 was announced at the opening of the campaign of a two-day Southern Labor Conference in Atlanta, Ga., attended by 3,000 representatives of the Federation, from AFL unions, city and state central bodies and district councils, and officials of the 21 standard railroad labor organizations and the four departments of the AFL.

Purposes were: the institution of a united organizing drive in the south; coordination of the legislative activities of labor in the south; promotion of "union-management co-operation in southern industry."

Special efforts will be made in the textile industry and miscellaneous manufacturing while "large gains are expected" among marine workers, white collar workers, retail trades, lumber mills, teachers and "other government

workers." Highlight of the conference was a nationally broadcast speech by AFL President William Green, introduced by Governor E. D. Rivers of Georgia, who called upon southern employers to cooperate with the Federation in its campaign.

★  
**A NEW ORGANIZATION, COLLECTIVE Bargaining Associates**, has been started as the latest effort to minimize industrial warfare. Unlike many other organizations that have professed similar aims, the agency is not trying to attain peace by destroying labor unions.

The sponsors include more than 30 well-known educators, economists and industrial engineers. Among the sponsors are Dean Wayne L. Morse of the University of Oregon; Prof. George W. Taylor of the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania; William M. Leiserson, NLRB member; Solicitor General Francis Biddle; Morris Llewellyn Cook, engineer; Harry A. Millis, former president of the American Economic Association; George Soule, editor, the *New Republic*; and Alvin S. Johnson, director of the New School for Social Research.

★  
**EIGHT INSURANCE COMPANIES**, two banks, and one huge ranchowner got over .5 per cent of total benefit payments made by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration for the year 1937, an AAA report to Congress shows. Eight insurance companies were paid a total of \$1,538,217, while the Federal Land Bank of Omaha, the Federal Land Bank of St. Paul and the King Ranch in Texas received \$360,204.

The 11 enterprises, receiving payments in excess of \$100,000, were paid a total of \$1,898,421 out of total benefit payments of \$325,856,887. The average check received by the 3,750,000 farmers participating in the program was \$75. Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. was the largest beneficiary with \$257,095. The other beneficiaries receiving more than \$10,000 were: Prudential Insurance, \$231,158; Equitable Life, \$206,962; Travelers Insurance, \$211,521; Union Central Life, \$166,280; Mutual Benefit Life, \$161,110; Northwestern Mutual, \$156,444; John Hancock, \$147,647; Federal Land Bank of Omaha, \$134,139; King Ranch of Texas, \$122,140; and Federal Land Bank of St. Paul, \$103,925.

★  
**WHEN A NON-UNION MAN WEARS** a union button to get a job he is guilty of using false pretenses, ruled a San Diego, Calif., judge who fined a non-union roofer who got a job by wearing a union button. Charges were brought by the local Building Trades Council.



# Letters to the Editor

Please Limit Your  
Letters to 500 Words

For the best 1,000 word comment on this letter the Editorial Board of the AMERICAN TEACHER will give a copy of "Teachers for Democracy" edited by George E. Axtelle and William W. Wattenberg (D. Appleton-Century, \$2.50). All manuscripts must be in by April 8.

## You Can't Teach Democracy

Baltimore, Maryland

SIR: The debunkers have been at work on the professions. A few years ago, A. J. Cronin used his novel, *The Citadel*, to highlight the inadequacies of the modern medicine men. Once upon a time, when he was a writer, Sinclair Lewis added a dash of bitters to the preaching profession when he started out with a drunk Elmer Gantry and wound up with Elmer still not quite sober. More recently, Fred Rodell made his contribution to the art of debunking, *Woe Unto You Lawyers*, in which the law and lawyers were chopped up into little bits of non-fiction. There aren't many professions left to be debunked; but the teaching profession has proved, by putting its faith in gibberish, that it is ready for dissection.

American teachers, from the university to the one-room school, have been playing a new game. It's a kind of blind volleyball with the word "democracy." Everybody on the team can take a slap at the ball, but the rules provide that you must keep your eyes closed. The game, naturally, gets a bit ragged. Nobody on the team knows where the ball is going; nobody knows where it's coming from; and, in fact, nobody knows what the ball really looks like.

Those American educators who started this education and democracy business no doubt realized that theirs was a hope for the future. Our present educational system cannot teach democracy because it is not and never has been democratic itself. Those who have seized upon the term education and democracy and are now bandying it back and forth across the country have distorted a legitimate ideal into an inept eulogy. The limitless flow of books, pamphlets, and essays describing the great democratic force of our schools seems to indicate that the teaching profession is now in the *Gone With the Wind* stage, where everybody jumps in though he doesn't quite know what the ruckus is all about. The discussion of educating for a democracy is somewhere over a rainbow, far, far from the clutching grasp of the semanticist.

A short while ago, Elizabeth Coatsworth produced *The Cat Who Went to Heaven*, the story of an artist painting a picture of the death of Buddha. When commissioned to paint the picture by the priest of the village temple, the artist was poor and in need of food. The priest presented the artist with a sack of money before the artist had painted so much as a stroke. As if in answer to the puzzled look of the artist, the priest said, "Only a clear pool reflects beautiful images."

It is plain that the priest was both philosopher and pragmatist. The educators who wish to produce the image of children imbued with democratic ideals would do well to sound the depths of the pool that must bring forth that image. I share their hopes for the future of democracy, but

I know that the pool we now have is too shallow and muddy to reflect the image we would like to see. It seems enigmatic that we should expect democracy to flow from an instrumentality which exhibits few democratic elements in its own right.

Freedom is certainly one of the elements of democracy. Can we teach it when we don't have it? Cases of violation of the ideal of academic freedom have been far from rare; and though the outstanding cases have featured university professors, the unromantic, glamorless elementary school teacher has suffered and still suffers extensive restriction of freedom. The system in which I teach has as one of its criteria for rating its teachers the question, "Does he support the plans and policies of the administration?" and another, "Is he loyal to his superiors?" This is the freedom to agree—the same may be had in Germany. The list of instances pointing to a lack of freedom might be broadened to include almost every phase of the job, until each school becomes, with its major and petty restrictions, a miniature dictatorship—and this, too, may be had in Germany.

When we say the American's Creed, we are, in effect, declaring that equality is implicit in democracy. We must teach it, then—and we must have it before we try to teach it. There is little of equality in our educational system today. Economic inequality forces many teachers to use the lower schools as mere stepping-stones to the higher salaries of the secondary level. Would anyone care to support the proposition that trained, capable teachers are more needed in high school than in the elementary school? Theory demands that the early, formative years of childhood have the utmost in trained guidance; in practice, a disturbing percentage of the best in the lower schools are constantly moving upward and their valuable contribution lost to the younger children. Furthermore, the recent case in Maryland showing salary discrimination against Negro teachers and the many cases featuring Negroes barred from schools throw light on another phase of inequality in the profession. When there is no equality among the teachers and no equality among the children they are permitted to teach, it is asking the impossible to expect equalitarian thinking from the products of our schools.

We have often referred to our form of government as representative democracy. The idea of democracy carries with it the idea of representation, the idea, broadly speaking, of self-determination. This, too, it is hard to find in the schools. Teachers have little to do with the functioning of the schools—except to take attendance, teach their lessons, and mark their papers. The teachers in the educational system of 1940 are the subjects of administration policy, not the determiners of democracy. Faculty meetings, in most cases, take the form of a lecture by the principal, not discussions by the teachers. The fact that the teaching of controversial issues is still in the controversial stage itself is another indication that the teachers are not, in any sense, self-determining. Teachers have often been drafted to work on course of study committees (always with plenty of administrators around to help), but a real rarity is a teachers' committee to assist in determining policy, to discuss broad professional issues, and to help in school management—and by that I mean something far more than assigning lunch-hour duties.

It would not be just, however, to lay the blame for the

lack of democracy in the schools entirely at the door of the administrators. The teachers, themselves, fall short of the ideal at many points. In addition to the three elements already discussed, we might expect to find several subordinate virtues in a democracy. The spirit of co-operation, the spirit of organizing and planning for social benefits, the application of vision to both means and ends are certainly closely related to the maintenance of democracy. Progressive educators have long lamented the shortcomings of the teachers as a group in these matters. In its poll of high-school teachers' opinions, the John Dewey Society found 62 per cent of the teachers answering "No" to the statement that teachers should affiliate with some genuine labor organization of their own choosing. As to vision, Robert Partin, reporting his difficulties in organizing teachers, declared that "Even when teachers are brought together they are more concerned with their own classroom problems than with the problems of the nation." Even if we could get controversial subjects into the classroom, if we could get freedom, equality, and self-determination, it seems doubtful that the present teaching force would know what to do with them.

The elementary school teachers of America are socially too backward, mentally too hypnotized, professionally too dominated, and economically too handicapped to be the agents for democracy. We, here in America, have had ample evidence from abroad that democracy is not merely a matter of talking democracy. The schools can no more teach democracy in their present state than can Hitler or Mussolini or Stalin. Democracy will come from the schools when the schools make democracy their fundamental principle rather than their slogan.

J. LANTHAN WINSLOW

THE FOLLOWING LETTERS ON CONTROVERSIAL subjects are a fair sampling of those which have been received by the editor of the AMERICAN TEACHER. After discussing the problem, the Editorial Board decided to print a selection of letters with the suggestion that AFT Locals do not use this column for statements of policy, but that it be reserved for AFT members who would like to discuss constructively Union policy and the educational problems raised by the articles which are published in the journal.

Cincinnati, Ohio

SIR: By unanimous action of its membership meeting, our University section instructed its secretary to send you this communication. Later, the regular joint meeting of the Executive Committee and School Representatives voted to add its unanimous endorsement.

In the December issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER, the President's Page, "Is Our Union Controlled by Communists?" is followed by articles on the educational crisis in Ohio. This presented an effective contrast between a wrong and a right way to answer attacks on our union.

The Ohio situation is only one example of the increasingly ominous attacks on education, of which the Roosevelt budget (which slashed funds for WPA, NYA, CCC, etc., in favor of increased expenditures for armaments) is another example.

And the Roosevelt budget is only part of a broad pattern rapidly taking form under impact of the war abroad—a pattern of such events as Roosevelt's annual message to Congress in which the dependence of the United States on an Allied victory was expressed in such a manner as to lay the foundation for military participation; the Administra-

tion's violation of the spirit of neutrality by loans to Finland; Arnold's attacks on labor unions under the guise of anti-monopoly investigations; the FBI's card catalogue of "dangerous" people, for use at an "appropriate" time; the unofficial contributions of American journalism to hysteria with respect to the Russo-Finnish conflict; and the Dies committee "investigations," now in a more friendly climate of opinion.

Characteristic of this situation is the unification and strengthening of the reactionary movement, along with an attack upon the civil liberties of all those who represent an obstacle to the achievement of its objectives. Its energies unloosed by the war abroad, in a few short months it has engulfed those public officials who represent the New Deal. Its next effort is directed against the mainstay of the progressive forces, the trade unions. Such organizations must be confused, split up, dispersed for the reactionaries to achieve their aims. Every action and utterance on the part of labor must be considered with this in mind.

The time-honored weapon in the attack on progressive labor is the cry of "Communism." The AFT has not been immune. The *Saturday Evening Post's* attack on ex-President Davis is paralleled by the attacks upon President Counts in *Liberty* and the *National Republic*.

The appropriate reply to the unscrupulous charge of "Communist domination" is one which focuses attention on our program of teacher, child and social welfare and which points clearly to the reactionary, anti-educational sources in which such attacks find their ultimate origin. This would force any judgment of our union to be made on the actual issues for which we stand. By so doing, we would not, as we believe Professor Counts did, play unwittingly into the hands of our enemies and we would succeed in bringing forward the program of the AFT.

But Professor Counts apparently proceeds on the assumption that the charge of "Communist domination" is to be taken at its face value. Then he lashes out at "totalitarianism in every form," and "foreign agents" in the union, and thus adds his voice to the chorus of heresy hunters threatening all progressive labor, including the AFT itself.

It is most unfortunate that Professor Counts dealt as he did with this important issue. His position as president of our union lends prestige to a stand dangerous to the AFT.

Furthermore, the tone of his article would lead the reader to infer that political thinking in the AFT should be standardized. This is contradicted by his statement, "We believe that teachers above all others must oppose without ceasing every effort and every movement calculated to limit and crush the freedom of the human mind." Which of these contradictory ideas are we to regard as more fundamental to Professor Counts' point of view?

CINCINNATI FEDERATION OF TEACHERS  
LOCAL 479

★ ★ ★

New York City

SIR: That our last convention was wise in electing George S. Counts to the presidency of the AFT is attested to by the magnificent statement which appears on his page in your December issue. The bold, clear and unequivocal nature of the declaration gives us a sound, principled defense against the tactics that Professor Sidney Hook has aptly named "crypto-Stalinism," as well as against Mr. Dies' legislative version of yellow journalism. May I offer an urgent petition that Dr. Counts' article be immediately reprinted as a leaflet to be distributed by our members throughout the country

JACOB DRACHLER  
Local 5



Washington, D. C.

SIR: I have been instructed by my Local to inform you that the attitude of the AMERICAN TEACHER on matters of foreign policy as expressed in the letter of the legislative chairman does not represent the attitude of Local 8, and that this Local wishes to have its protest made a matter of record and a matter of print.

MARGARET STETSON, Corresponding Secretary

★ ★ ★

New York City

SIR: The letter from Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman, Chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Teachers, printed in the October issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER seemed to me so sound and valuable that I was surprised and—if there is any room left in such a world as ours for the verb—shocked by the letter from Miss Mildred Berleman in the last issue.

Especially at a time when the whole force of the press and even of the government seems directed toward pushing America into war, it is of the greatest importance that American teachers do not repeat the criminal behavior of Social Democratic leaders and many trade unionists on both sides in the previous war. If England and France were really fighting for anything decent we would certainly have to give them the sympathy which Miss Berleman expresses. But we cannot support the governments which betrayed the League of Nations, China, Ethiopia, Austria, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Albania, and Poland, which suppress civil liberties and revoke the advantages won by bitter struggle of trade unions, and which are now busily attempting to turn the war into a joint struggle of Western Europe and America against the USSR. And when they use the government of Finland as their device for pulling America into that war, relying on American sentiment for an imaginary democracy which paid its war debts (do teachers know how that money was really spent?) the cynicism is revolting unless we are dizzied with war propaganda.

Union teachers have a special responsibility for keeping their colleagues and students from the lies, distortions, and tragic errors we made before. It seems to me that the only possibility for a just peace requires the defeat of both sides, since there is very little to choose between the English, French and German governments. In any case we must not, even unconsciously, influence our friends and colleagues and students toward attitudes laying the base for American participation in war.

JAMES P. MITCHILL, Local 5  
Formerly Local 464

★ ★ ★

New York City

SIR: In looking through recent issues of the AMERICAN TEACHER (magazine section), I feel that the drawings by Chandler Montgomery are worthy of comment. He is really giving us some good specimens with a social significance. I like, particularly, his picture in the last issue of the educational "ladder" and also of the impact of the radio upon a modern boy. Montgomery does something which is more difficult than cartooning because his drawings provide a symbolic atmosphere for the articles. I feel sure that other readers must enjoy these drawings and we hope that they will be continued as a feature in our Union Journal.

MARK STARR, Educational Director, ILGWU

In order that the AMERICAN TEACHER may serve as a medium for the discussion of the educational problems of today, the contributors are not necessarily expressing the policies of the American Federation of Teachers.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

IRVIN R. KUENZLI who contrasts the situations in Jacksonville and Toledo is National Secretary-Treasurer of the AFT. . . . EDGAR MENDENHALL, author of *The City School Board Member and His Task*, is Professor of Education at Kansas State Teachers College. . . . Co-authors PAUL WITTY and JOHN DeBOER are Professors of Education, the former at Northwestern University (Local 635) and the latter at Chicago Teachers College (Local 1). . . . PAUL HANNA and HAROLD HAND of the Commission on Resources and Education are members of the staff of Stanford University and Local 442. . . . HOWLAND PADDOCK is Chairman of the Social Science Department at Kenosha Senior High School and President of Local 557. . . . KERMIT EBY is Executive-Secretary of the Chicago Teachers Union, Local 1. . . . GEORGE E. AXTELLE, co-author of the John Dewey Yearbook, *Teachers for Democracy*, teaches at Northwestern University and is a member of Local 635.

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## SUMMER SESSION STUDENTS

In order that the American Federation of Teachers may carry on an organized summer program we are asking all AFT members who plan to attend summer school to send in their names and the names of the schools which they plan to attend. These names will be sent to the national vice-president in the area and forwarded to the AFT committee working at each summer school. George T. Guernsey, editor of the AMERICAN TEACHER, was appointed by the Executive Council to head the summer program.

Name .....  
Address .....  
City..... State.....  
Summer School.....AFT Local.....

Please mail this to George T. Guernsey, 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill., as soon as you have decided which school you will attend during the summer.

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